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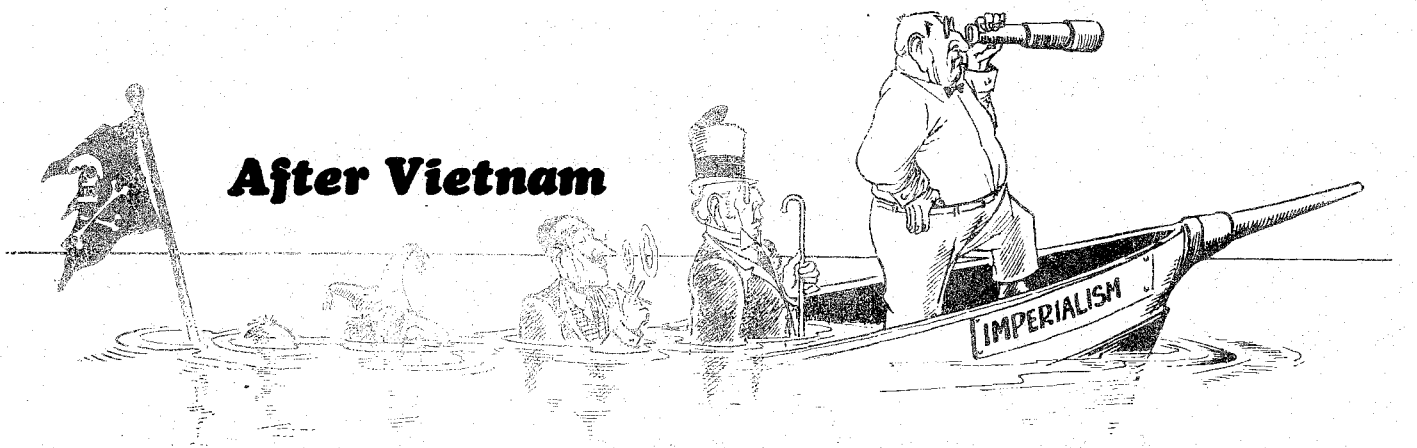

A NEW STRATEGY FOR THE PACIFIC

Michael T. Klare

ACUPUNCTURE: CHILD OF THE MEDIA

Lillian Africano

YELLOW PAGES: THE QUIET MONOPOLY

Ralph Nader & Frank Warner

POLITICAL TRIALS: THE MYTH OF DISRUPTION

William M. Kunstler & Margaret L. Ratner

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LETTERS

U.S. printer

New York City

I read with much interest Frank Warner's "A Very Odd Publishing House" [*The Nation*, Mar. 22]. Mr. Warner is distressed over the destruction of "2 million pounds of books, worth about $1.2 million." . . . Actually, the Public Printer was acting in the public interest in ordering his large overstocks "sold for destruction," meaning for scrap paper to be recycled. To try to sell these overstocks to the public at "discounted" prices would certainly be throwing good money after bad. Perhaps as much as 10 per cent might have been sold by forced promotion, but the selling cost would have been $2 or $3 for every dollar of sales. . . . Most government publications are on highly specialized subjects, hence their markets are very limited and their promotion in such markets is very costly. . . .

What Mr. Warner overlooks is that government publications are made available to the public at a scattering of GPO bookstores, at more than 1,200 deposit libraries around the country, and through the extensive distribution facilities of the National Technical Information Service at the Department of Commerce. . . . Therefore, there is little reason for individuals to purchase copies for home libraries.

Warner laments the recently imposed higher scale of prices of GPO publications but fails to report that the increase was caused not so much by higher printing costs as by a new government policy which mandates a realistic recovery of costs of all products and services sold to the public. Most people have taken this to be a wise reform. . . .

Warner . . . advances the suggestion that perhaps all government books and pamphlets should be free. This change would make the GPO a very odd publishing house indeed. And surely it wolud abuse the very large majority of U.S. taxpayers who neither need nor want 95 per cent of the government documents that are printed at the GPO each year. *Curtis G. Benjamin, Consultant, McGraw-Hill, Inc.*

thanks to Clurman

New York City

Harold Clurman's review of Sam Shepard's *Action* [*The Nation*, May 3] prompts me to write in appreciation of its multiplicity of ideas and humanistic responses to the play. Of course, it's no surprise, we expect this of Clurman. But there are times when we want to say thanks for keeping it up. *Wynn Handman, Director, The American Place Theatre*

boy versus deputies

On June 2, 1975, in the Superior Court, Santa Monica, Philip Allen, black and 20, faces a murder charge. He is alleged to have grabbed a service revolver from one of six or eight deputy sheriffs who were on the scene of a minor street melee upon which Philip chanced en route home from a New Year's Eve party. Shooting ensued; one deputy was killed and two were wounded.

The case against Philip is based mainly on the testimony of Deputy Michael Grimes, whose revolver was used in the shooting. Yet there were no fingerprints on the gun.

Those of us who have known Philip since he was a youth in the Church School of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, believe strongly in his innocence. Moreover, the sheriffs' version of the incident is entirely illogical. Could a youth 5'3" really overpower at least six huge deputies and be alive to tell the tale?

Many of us in the Church and community want to assure Philip the best possible legal defense. To that end we have established a tax-deductible fund for necessary legal costs, which, it is estimated, will come to about $25,000. Contributions should be sent to the Philip Allen Defense Fund of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90005. *Stephen H. Fritchman*

Cover drawing: Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

EDITORIALS

Machismo Diplomacy

By far the most troublesome aspect of the *Mayagüez* action has been the jubilant, backslapping response it evoked. Congress was virtually unanimous in its approval (there were some conspicuous exceptions, Sen. Gaylord Nelson for one); it took the Senate four hours to voice its commendations, with the conservatives being the most laudatory. As for the public, it has been almost as enthusiastic as Ford and Kissinger, who have been filmed congratulating each other and patting themselves on the back in a manner reminiscent of a team of freshmen wrestlers after their first intercollegiate victory. The reaction suggests that we have learned little from our experience in Indochina; on the contrary, the defeat of United States policy in Vietnam seems to have evoked a jingoistic mood which, as long as it lasts, is likely to encourage future follies.

Commentators have attempted to separate the *Mayagüez* action from the Administration's self-serving characterizations of it in order to praise the former while remaining only mildly critical of the latter. But the severance is dubious. Seizure of the ship was a reckless act on the part of the Cambodians but, in the context, it was not piracy. Allowance must be made for the understandable jumpiness of the new regime and also for its claim that the ship was not on the high seas when it was seized, but in Cambodian territorial waters.

The same allowance for uncertainty and confusion must be granted the Ford Administration, although to a lesser degree. Even so, the rescue action, which had distinct overtones of a punitive expedition, was anything but brilliant in conception and execution. There appears to have been a multiple failure of intelligence. The crew of the *Mayagüez* was not on Tang Island, where the Marines invaded, but on another island 25 miles away. Ten minutes before the assault on Tang, Phnom Penh had radioed an offer to release the ship. Also ignored were similar seizures of a South Korean and a Panamanian ship in the same waters —for inspection—some days before the seizure of the *Mayagüez*. The appearance of the ship with its on-deck vans or containers suggested that it might be carrying military cargo, although in fact it was not. Contrary to intelligence reports, Tang Island was heavily defended. Casualty figures change from hour to hour, and were not firm as this issue went to press, but according to the latest Defense Department figures, fifteen Americans are dead, three missing in action and fifty are wounded.

Crew members of the *Mayagüez*, as we now know, were treated courteously; even acts of kindness were shown them. Once the Cambodians were convinced that the ship was not carrying "arms, ammunition or bombs," Captain Miller was assured that he and his crew would be released. Sixteen minutes before the men were released, the first air strikes against the mainland began. A second series followed thirty-seven minutes after the crew members were safely aboard an American destroyer (the excuse being that this attack was necessary to protect the Marines). Attempting to prevent the crew's removal from the island to the mainland, American planes harassed the fishing

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boat to which they had been transferred. For four hours, jets bombed close to it, strafed it and dropped tear gas, but did not succeed in turning it back. Fortunately these firings were accurate, but the lives of the entire crew were in danger throughout the prolonged assault; they could easily have been sacrificed as a consequence of the Administration's indulgence in *machismo* diplomacy. If the safety of the crew and the return of the ship were the sole considerations—as Administration spokesmen insist—then the action can be condemned as foolhardy and arrogant and still another example of military overkill and trigger-happiness.

But the military action is far less significant than the hoopla about it. Kissinger and Ford were obviously itching to clobber some safe target by way of demonstrating that they had passed their tests as tough statesmen and that the United States was still addicted to the use of miliary force as a substitute for diplomacy. The enthusiasm which greeted the action has been explained as a pardonable reaction to national frustration over Vietnam, but it is also a sign that we have not yet learned to think of American power in terms of present-day world realities. We continue to see ourselves as we want to see ourselves and not as others see us. Senator Goldwater's reference to "little half-assed nations" attempting to push us around was not only offensive but stupid; it will be quoted by national leaders around the world for a long time, as an example of precisely what is wrong with this country's conception of its role in the world.

We are told that the Administration acted as it did because it wanted to send a signal to North Korea. But how can a signal be sent to North Korea which is not also sent to South Korea? And how must President Park—who was assisted by a $4 million contribution from Gulf Oil in his gangsterlike theft of an election—have read the message? To him it must be clear that, despite any folly he may commit and regardless of the source of the challenge, we will defend his regime. And how will our friends and allies react to the casual way in which we infringed on the Thais' sovereignty without even bothering to notify, much less consult them?

Worst of all, the popular enthusiasm with which the *Mayagüez* action has been greeted has flashed a signal to Kissinger and Ford that they can continue to use military force in reckless and stupid ways as a substitute for realistic diplomacy. Forget about the restrictions on the President's power to wage war. In this instance the "consultation" with Congress was perfunctory and came after the fact, but there were no audible objections, not even from the authors of the War Powers Act. Reports James Wieghart in the New York *Daily News*: "When Ford entered the Cabinet room . . . to inform the assembled Congressional leaders of his decision to use force to free the *Mayagüez*, the legislators—all veterans of similar sessions held by Presidents Johnson and Nixon during the Vietnam years—rose to their feet and applauded before Ford opened his mouth. They are like the goose in the barnyard, honking at the rising sun, lacking memories and foresight. It is as if yesterday never happened and tomorrow will never come."

In this instance, as Sen. Alan Cranston observed, we were fortunate enough to "luck out" but what about the next time? and the next? and the next?

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NOTICE TO INDEXERS: *The Nation* regrets that through a typographical error the issues of May 10 and May 17 carried the wrong volume numbers. They should have been, respectively, Volume 220, No. 18 and Volume 220, No. 19.

THE NATION *Volume 220*
No. 21

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Franco's Guests

Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford will be spending a night in Spain at the end of this month. The visit will demand whatever diplomatic talents remain in the Kissinger arsenal. At stake is the American-Spanish arms pact, which comes up for renewal in August. The rulers of Spain, anxious for 82-year-old General Franco to resign so that they can establish a monarchy with democratic trappings before the Spanish people follow the Portuguese example, will bargain for an even tighter Spanish-American commitment. Kissinger no doubt will be trying to solidify the southern flank of his European strategy.

Both sides have a lot to gain and a lot to lose by these latest negotiations. Generally speaking, it's a pretty sure bet that where they win, the cause of a democratic Spain will suffer. The Americans have been toying with the idea of bringing Spain into NATO, perhaps as a substitute for wayward Portugal. The Spanish rulers, hungrily eying eventual membership in the European trading bloc, will likely ask the Americans to push harder for their admission. And while the Social Democratic ideals of at least several of the Western European governments should blackball the Franco government, it does seem probable that Spain will extract more money (for both arms and butter) from Kissinger and Ford.

All they will have to do is play to the Americans' anti-Communist, cold-war mentality. First they'll tell them that Spain is a reliable ally—unlike Greece, Turkey, the Indochinese puppet regimes and Portugal. Spain is one of the few countries that, at least in the short term, seems securely in the American pocket. Then they can note Kissinger's paranoid predictions that Portugal will "go Communist," and, like the Park regime in South Korea, ask for support against infiltrators. They might point out that, as the *Manchester Guardian* reports, nearly half of Spain's top 600 industrial firms have foreign participation and that the principal investors are American.

Spanish politics, in all but the nearest future, are extremely volatile. Upwardly mobile, middle-level officers and managers are bumping into the country's tight class lines, and beginning to react vigorously against them. Workers have been engaging in illegal strikes. There is, for what has been a totalitarian state for thirty-five years, a remarkable amount of critical ferment. Like Greece, Spain is a country whose popular struggle was repressed but never extinguished. The Spanish Communist Party has been engaged in alliance building totally unprecedented in the Chilean or Portuguese experience—Communist leader Santiago Carrillo has learned well from both. He has been quoted as speaking critically of the leaders of the Portuguese C.P.: "They are against political pluralism. We are for it." According to the *Guardian*, Carrillo has written that he has learned from the Chilean coup that the working class must remain allied to "middle sectors," that democratic Socialist forces must—when in the minority—relinquish power before civil war begins, that necessary preparations must be made for fighting if "the will is there to hold on to power."

By renewing the Spanish-American pact, Kissinger-Ford just might be committing their Administration, or future ones, to war. The Madrid Pact requires the United States to "support the defense system" of Spain. As the California Democratic Council pointed out, "The only real threat to that defense system is the Spanish people. . . ." Rep. George Brown, Jr. (D., Calif.) has asked Congress to examine carefully any agreement that is signed, and consider demanding that the pact be rewritten as a treaty—requiring Senate confirmation—just as Senator Fulbright demanded in 1970, the last time the pact came up for renewal.

Brown notes that, as written, the pact "can only be interpreted as a support for the authoritarian system that General Franco has maintained for thirty-five years. We could easily find ourselves in a civil war on behalf of the far Right—a war that is none of our business."

Brown advocates what he calls "a position of complete nonintervention in the internal affairs of Spain." Whether Congress will give his request the airing it deserves is questionable. The shaper of American foreign policy will be in Madrid when this month ends, and to him, nonintervention seems to be a word that, except for the nations of détente, is outside the lexicon of foreign affairs.

The People's Advocates

The recent Supreme Court decision denying allowance of attorneys' fees for plaintiffs' counsel in successful public-interest suits—except when explicitly provided for by law—can reasonably be seen as an attempt to cripple and perhaps destroy a promising, innovative movement. Corporate and governmental interests that ride roughshod over legitimate rights and concerns have learned to fear litigation from these private attorneys general. The 5-to-2 Court decision should provide some comfort for them—but for no one else.

Public-interest law is not a new vocation. Louis Brandeis devoted himself to it after he had amassed his fortune; the ACLU and NAACP have for decades filed actions in the public interest. But the new people's advocates are a special breed. Like many who went to work for the few valuable OEO projects in the late 1960s, today's public-interest lawyers, allied with the aggregation of Naderesque groups that dot the nation, have created a substantial movement with varied concerns, first-rate talent and hard-driving commitment. Initially funded by foundations (that for this purpose are increasingly undependable) and the largesse of the rich, public-interest law firms have grown in number to some twenty-five, have established themselves and have done valuable work in almost every field where the public's welfare has been threatened by private interests.

Their value is inestimable. Unlike OEO legal services lawyers who, with strapped budgets, do more work than they can reasonably be expected to handle, public-interest firms represent clients who are not necessarily poor, though they have been underrepresented. Public-interest suits cut across class lines and therefore often advance the concerns of large constituencies. Though usually less than radical in their goals, these suits almost invariably require massive research and expert knowledge. Even moderately well-off private citizens, acting alone, are frequently unable to finance the legal costs such actions entail. Public-interest lawyers fight in the courts for implementation of

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those portions of the law whose stated purpose is to benefit the citizenry at large. They monitor the bureaucracy, and through their suits often check governmental abuse; by bringing the courts into bureaucratic issues, they actuate the Constitution's balance of power provisions. On more than a few occasions, the public-interest lawyers, through their suits, have brought creative judicial thinking to bear on areas of bureaucratic lethargy or insensitivity. In Washington, they have become the public's major defense against the cozy corporate collusion that has come to pervade the regulatory commissions.

The Supreme Court decision comes at a time when many public-interest law firms have been seeking financial independence through fees earned by their work. This ruling against their efforts is a definite setback, jeopardizing current programs and curtailing vitally needed growth. Progressive members of Congress have managed to insert provisions for attorneys' fees in laws regarding public-interest suits in certain environmental, civil rights, consumer and Freedom of Information cases. Sen. John Tunney of California has pledged to introduce legislation expanding the fee awards to a larger variety of public-interest actions. Both the specifics of this promised legislation—and the actions of Tunney and others to promote it—should be closely followed by the press.

Meanwhile, Richard Nixon's Supreme Court continues to narrow the scope of public remedies against offending established interests. In an earlier case, the Court restricted class action suits, crimping minority stockholder litigation that often works in the general interest. The Court's commitment to the law seems to have a clear thrust—against the idea that the people should use it to remedy sometimes urgent societal problems.

An Important First Step

If the California legislature does its job and enacts Governor Brown's compromise farm labor bill, a significant barrier to justice in California's fields will have been broken through. Not that the law in itself would dispense automatic justice, but it would create an environment amenable to legitimate labor organizing among the farm workers. For the first time, these underpaid, exploited workers would have the state-guaranteed right to vote by secret ballot for the union of their choice and, through that union, to engage in collective bargaining.

It is not impossible that the bill will be scuttled by the building trades unions—and their spokesman, Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy of San Francisco—hostile to its provisions for industrial unit organizing (organizing according to work place rather than craft). In response, United Farm Workers leaders have disavowed any interest in raiding the building trades units, but did say that irrigators and tractor drivers should be in the same voting group with other farm workers. It's a controversy that could have significant effect on the eventual shape, or existence, of the bill, especially if other craft unions become involved. Amendment could kill the legislation; the growers and UFW leaders who approved the compromise are committed only to the original bill. The Teamsters, who raided the UFW two years ago by signing sweetheart contracts with growers, don't want the bill: it would allow elections to test their representation even where contracts had been signed.

The creation of the compromise after so many years of hostility seems to be due both to the hard-working maneuverings of Governor Brown and to the tardy realization by the growers that unionization is inevitable, and that legitimate representation would be better than the chaos that has pervaded the fields since workers realized they had a right to bargain collectively. Now that the compromise has been sealed, the growers have broken off negotiations with the Teamsters—who apparently could not deliver labor peace along with their sweetheart contracts—pending a decision on the law.

Brown's negotiation of the deal seems to have been buttressed by Democratic control of both houses of the California legislature. His ability to pilot the bill through those houses is as yet untested, but the signing of the compromise remains an important first step in the farm workers' long climb to guaranteed rights in the fields.

The Young New Dealers

Calvin Benham ("Beanie") Baldwin and Clifford Judkins Durr, who died last week at approximately the same age, will be remembered as among the finest symbols of "the young New Dealers" who gave impetus, energy and intelligent direction to the early New Deal programs and agencies. Both were Southerners. Baldwin was born in Radford, Va. and educated at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Imbued with the spirit of the New Deal, he abandoned his appliance firm in Radford to join the Roosevelt administration. He served under Rexford Tugwell and Henry Wallace in a number of capacities before emerging as director of the Farm Security Administration, one of the best New Deal agencies. It underwrote mortgages on small farms, helped form farm cooperatives for the joint purchase of seed and fertilizer, and set up migrant labor camps which, at the time, were oases of minimum decency surrounded by the wretched squalor of the "shack-towns" and private farm labor camps.

The director of the first FSA camp in California—the legendary Tom Collins, to whom *The Grapes of Wrath* was dedicated and who served as technical adviser on the film—briefed John Steinbeck at the Arvin Camp on the trials and tribulations of the Joads, and served perhaps as a model for the "Preacher" in the novel. The FSA was doomed, of course, because it was a notably "progressive" agency. It made excellent use of the photographic talents of Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans, sponsored documentary films including Pare Lorentz's *The River* and *The Plow that Broke the Plains*, and turned over to Archives a superb collection of photographs and other documentation of rural life during the depression years. Inevitably, the FSA ran into political difficulties, and in 1944 Baldwin resigned to head the drive conducted by the CIO Political Action Committee to bring out the labor vote for Roosevelt. In 1948, however, he bolted the Democratic Party to become the campaign manager for Henry Wallace and executive vice chairman of the Progressive Party until its dissolution in 1953. "Beanie" Baldwin was a warm, generous, soft-spoken, kindly man (perhaps too kindly to be an effective campaign manager for a candidate who faced

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the kind of opposition Wallace faced in 1948); over the years his early New Deal idealism was supplanted by a more radical outlook.

Cliff Durr was a native of Montgomery, Ala. He attended the University of Alabama and was elected a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, receiving his degree in jurisprudence in 1922. Like Baldwin, he was attracted to the New Deal by Franklin D. Roosevelt and served as assistant general counsel to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, general counsel, and then director of the Defense Plant Corporation, and, from 1941 to 1948, was an outstanding member of the FCC. He declined reappointment by President Truman to the FCC in 1948, quietly and without fanfare, but when asked why, said that he could not conscientiously administer the President's loyalty program. Later he returned to Alabama to practice law. Former President Lyndon Johnson, shortly before his death, wrote Durr: "A long, long time ago, you taught me so much, by precept and example, about the dignity and opportunity to which each is entitled regardless of color, birthplace, ancestry, and all of the ways in which many have been ignored and disdained." Like Baldwin, Durr was a man of rare courage who, while he never initiated confrontations, never shied from them.

Among the early New Dealers it is interesting that "the best and brightest" were often, as in the cases of Baldwin and Durr, young Southerners who had caught the rebellious and generous spirit of the late 1930s and devoted their lives to its furtherance. Both figured in historic clashes with "Jungle Jim" Eastland, another kind of Southerner. On one occasion, when Baldwin was testifying on behalf of an FSA appropriation measure, Senator Eastland called him "a son of a bitch" and ordered him from the hearing. Baldwin left, saying that he was always glad to testify on behalf of the agency but not before a bigot. And when Virginia Durr—she was the sister-in-law of Justice Hugo Black—was called before the Eastland committee and treated discourteously, her husband charged upon the Senator and took a poke at him which, as luck would have it, failed to land on target. Men such as Baldwin and Durr—and women such as Virginia Durr—saved the traditional honor of the South by their gallant defense of civil rights at heavy personal odds. It was Cliff Durr who arranged to have Rosa Park released on bond in 1955 in the incident that triggered the Montgomery bus boycott, an action which wrote a new chapter in the history of the South. Baldwin and Durr will be long remembered with deep affection and respect by those who had the privilege of knowing them.

The Big Bash

It was not always so, but it is true today that the Shah of Iran tops the list of all White House visitors. He commands the most lavish and expensive parties, the largest receptions and the most fuss. Not only that but the scramble to get close to the occupant of the Peacock Throne has become a kind of in-game with columnists, socialites, celebrities and Congressional leaders.

Of course there are problems: Iranian security officers, described as "dark-haired, mustachioed men," were everywhere during the recent visit; rumor had it that they included an official taster for the Shah's food. From Teheran came news that two U.S. army men had been gunned down by Iranian guerrillas, but it failed to dim the enthusiasm for the Shah and the Shahbanou (referred to variously as the Shahbazanou, the Shahbaniban and, in desperation by some irreverent souls, as the Shahbunny).

What the big bash proves is that our deference toward princely wealth has, if anything, been intensified by the depression. The longer the ranks of the unemployed, the more attention is lavished upon such parvenu types as the Shah, who jokes about acquiring the White House or making a takeover bid for New York City. The image projected by these goings on is hardly in keeping with television shots of the unemployed seeking jobs. What it means is, as Sally Quinn reported in *The Washington Post*, that "For everybody . . . oil prices will go up this fall. And for the Shah it means more F-16s and a lot more prestige."

Yellow Pages: The Quiet Monopoly

RALPH NADER and FRANK WARNER

Washington

What with political payoffs, wiretapping, rate increases, service breakdowns and a big antitrust suit, AT&T gets a lot of attention these days. However, the Bell System's most profitable business generates neither news copy nor consumer attention and deserves both.

Yellow Pages service is as old as telephone service. In the 1880s, classified telephone directories were published by private printers. But Bell companies, quick to see what easy profits the service could realize, soon exploited special market advantages to finish off all the private directory publishers except those that agreed to act as Bell agents. By the turn of the century, AT&T had monopolized the sale of classified directory advertising. (At the same time, more and more classified listings were printed on yellow paper; hence the "Yellow Pages.")

Today, the twenty-three Bell operating companies publish 2,166 different classified directories. Though independent printers publish small neighborhood directories, in most areas there is no real competition to Yellow Pages service. Ostensibly designed to let our fingers do the walking, the Yellow Pages is one of those quiet monopolies, hiding its anti-competitive, anti-consumer activities behind a façade of good public relations. Rather than a mere Ma Bell side-show, it has become a billion-dollar business.

Ralph Nader is the author of Unsafe at Any Speed *and co-author of* Whistle-Blowing *and the recent* You and Your Pension (*all Grossman Publishers*). *He is the founder and director of the Public Interest Research Group, with offices in Washington, D.C. Frank Warner is a researcher at the Corporate Accountability Research Group, a Ralph Nader activity.*

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The Yellow Pages may be unusual for its lack of notoriety, but its prices, practices and profits are what one would expect from a dominant business. Consider its rates. Regardless of directory circulation, each telephone company charges what it sees fit for directory advertising. In Brooklyn, N.Y. (population 2.6 million), a quarter-page ad costs $2,496 a year, or 94 cents for each 1,000 people it reaches. In Kansas City, Mo. (population 1.3 million), the same ad costs $2,928 a year, or $2.21 per 1,000.

Even in cities of similar size, the rates vary widely. A survey of all Yellow Pages directories serving areas of 25,000 inhabitants (plus or minus 2,000) shows annual quarter-page rates from an average of $292 in West Virginia to an average of $627 in Southwestern Bell territory. Rates seem more closely related to the size of each telephone company's greed than to the size of the population it serves. Perhaps that is what the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. meant when it declared in a 1967 court case that "classified advertising charges are necessarily based upon a value concept rather than cost."

According to Yellow Pages advertising contracts, rates are to be paid on a monthly basis "for a minimum of one issue," but the advertiser is not told how long one issue will last. Most advertisers assume that the life of a classified directory is one year, but if a telephone company decides to extend it for a few months, the advertisers are obligated to continue monthly payments. Thirteen- or fourteen-month issues are common, but last year Pittsburgh advertisers were taken by surprise when Bell of Pennsylvania elected to keep its directory going for eighteen months. Noted one specialist in Yellow Pages advertising, "This can be very damaging to a new business," especially one that had planned to decrease its advertising in the second year.

The structure of the classified directory hits some advertisers even harder than the basic rates. Yellow Pages ads can be listed in almost any form combining the "bold listings," "anchor listings," "space listings," "trade items" and "display ads." Every added detail means a higher rate. To compound the fun (and the profits), the Bell companies offer their Yellow Pages advertisers more than 2,000 headings under which to advertise. A furniture rental company, for instance, has available no fewer than nine headings—from "Bedding" to "Tables."

Such practices snowball into the kind of profits most companies only dream about. Bell System officials hesitate to talk about them. While they're quite willing to divulge their revenues from directory advertising ($936 million in 1974), they contend that they are unable to calculate their profits because they don't know what the expenses are. "It isn't a kind of figure that we need in the business," explained Chuck Dynes, AT&T's information director in Washington, D.C. He said he could not even estimate.

But this is nonsense, since AT&T had to have a shrewd idea of its directory expenses in order to set its rates, so we looked at the annual reports filed by Bell's operating companies with the Federal Communications Commission. There it was: in each company's report for 1974, a line labeled "Directory Expenses." The expenses added up to $486 million, meaning the Yellow Pages had netted $450 million (before taxes) in 1974, for an impressive 48.1 per cent return on sales. Advertisers passed on their expenses in inflated prices for their goods and services. Consumers, thinking they were getting their Yellow Pages free, paid an invisible price for them, plus a $500-million tip for AT&T.

Does the Yellow Pages performance, at least, match its profits? Edward Hancharik, AT&T's director of Directory Operations, thinks so. Asked if the output of Yellow Pages were restricted, as might be predicted in a monopoly, he proudly replied, "The customer can receive as many books as he wants." But Hancharik hadn't answered the question, for Yellow Pages output is not measured in numbers of directories. The Yellow Pages product is a service: the dissemination of information, including telephone numbers, that consumers want and need. Output can be measured only in terms of efficiency, reliability and convenience. While it is difficult to quantify these qualities, it is not hard for consumers to feel the effect of deteriorating directory service. The current experience in Washington and suburbs is an example of this deterioration, in an area where fewer directories would actually be better.

For decades, the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. published a Washington Yellow Pages book serving the District of Columbia and its suburbs. Area consumers had in one volume a listing of practically all the area's competitors in any business. The book encouraged comparison shopping at home, and stimulated competition in the marketplace. Meanwhile, C&P Telephone circulated two other Yellow Pages books; one to suburban Maryland and one to suburban Virginia. But because the area-wide Yellow Pages fulfilled the metropolitan area's needs, the two suburban books were virtually ignored.

In September 1974, C&P Telephone executives, apparently not satisfied with the patronage of the suburban directories, announced a plan to end the overlapping of the Washington Yellow Pages into suburban areas. Effective this month, there will be three completely separate classified directories where only one is needed. Customers in the suburbs will no longer get a D.C. Yellow Pages, except on request. In announcing the plan, the telephone company failed to publicize its projections, based on the experience of other Bell companies, that no more than 10 per cent of its customers will bother to request the other two directories of the metropolitan area. Nor did the company tell the public that the new arrangement will force regional businesses to advertise in three directories instead of one—at 2.6 times the cost.

Washington businessmen are appalled. "What a gimmick to get more revenue," groans the president of Theodore's, a D.C. furniture store. "I think they're taking advantage of us," says the district manager for Bekins Moving and Storage. The general manager at Jerry's Ford, a car dealership, wonders whether the elimination of the area-wide Yellow Pages directory might have an effect on competition. Area consumers, having fewer or less informative classified listings at their fingertips, will be increasingly subject to the few big advertisers who can afford to command their attention. The D.C.-area businessmen draw a picture of one monopoly, the Yellow Pages, extending its anti-competitive grip to all the people it touches.

Leonard Kolodny, head of the Retail Bureau of the Washington Board of Trade, does not look at it that way. About a potential anti-competitive effect, he says, "I don't think that enters into the picture at all." He claims the

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three distinct directories will allow businesses to choose which of the local areas they want to reach, whereas the old scheme had forced everyone to advertise everywhere. (He does not mention the fact that every new ad for just one of the new local books will cost almost as much as an ad in the old area-wide book.) AT&T's Chuck Dynes agrees with Kolodny, and sees convenience in the C&P Yellow Pages plan. In his view, "If you split the book in three, I only have to go a third as far to find a number, which makes it easier for me." Yet to assume that reducing the number of classified listings in the Washington Yellow Pages would not also reduce competition is to assume that no firms want business from the whole metropolitan area, whereas businesses and consumers do not operate within political boundaries. Indeed, the telephone company recognizes this reality by continuing to distribute all three white pages directories to all three parts of the Washington area. Why would consumers want alphabetical directories for all three parts, but a classified directory for only one? C&P does not have an answer.

The Washington area Yellow Pages' realignment is not unique. Orange County, California, which was satisfied with only one classified directory three years ago, now has two directories serving smaller markets. The same is true in Southern Alameda County, California, whose book was split last year. And in Minneapolis, a directory sales manager for Northwestern Bell reveals, "We have given some thought to breaking up our directories, but that's still in the planning stages."

What seems to be a better system for classified directory distribution is offered in Philadelphia, where advertisers can reach all or part of the metropolitan area in one book. Just as *Time* magazine accepts national and regional advertising, the Philadelphia Yellow Pages accepts *regional* and *local* advertising. Regional advertising appears in all copies of the Philadelphia Yellow Pages; local advertising, costing 35 per cent less, appears in one of four local areas. Each consumer gets a directory with all the listings he or she needs. The arrangement is simple and efficient. And it is offered in no other city.

Another practice revealing the Yellow Pages disdain for consumer welfare has been its policy against the "interconnects," Western Electric's competitors in the production of telephone equipment. Interconnects, from the start, are faced with overwhelming inertia on the part of telephone users and, in the Yellow Pages, they compete for attention in a book filled with free advertising for Bell subsidiaries. As if that weren't enough, Bell officials have decided to hide the interconnects in the Yellow Pages under "Telephone Apparatus" or "Telephone Equipment" headings. The telephone manufacturers want to advertise under the heading "Telephone Companies," where they feel most customers naturally look for their telephone needs. But Bell has refused.

A flagrant abuse of the interconnects is a quarter-page "General Information" notice appearing in the Manhattan, Chicago, St. Louis, Phoenix and New Orleans Yellow Pages. Displayed with the interconnect ads, the notice warns that all telephone equipment not supplied by Bell must meet Bell's tariff requirements. It states, "A customer's service is subject to suspension or termination when customer-provided equipment or systems are used in violation of the tariffs," and notes, for instance, that "The tariffs do not permit wall jacks, plugs, extension cords, etc., not provided by the Company to be connected directly to Telephone Company lines." The information provided is not untrue but, according to Ron Harlow, president of the Pritec Corp., a Chicago interconnect company, "Anybody who looks at the notice says, 'My God, what are we getting into?' They might very well be scared off."

Let your fingers
do the walking...
You can save time on shopping trips by first checking the Yellow Pages and making a list of the stores you want to visit.
The Yellow Pages

Harlow adds that Yellow Pages income can be used to subsidize Bell's equipment offerings, making the competition of Bell's Western Electric all the more unfair. "They can lower the cost of telephone equipment and increase the cost of Yellow Pages advertising." This is possible, he says, because directory service has escaped the attention of state regulatory bodies.

Incredibly, if not mysteriously, only California regulates the rates and practices of the Yellow Pages. In 1958, when the New York Supreme Court gave its Public Service Commission "limited jurisdiction" over the use of the telephone directories, it did so only to affirm the PSC's order prohibiting an independent company from attaching plastic covers to the New York Telephone Company's directories. Other states that have commented on the subject have decided that publication of the Yellow Pages is neither a public service nor a public utility, and cannot be regulated.

Though California seems to be steps ahead of other states in its capacity to oversee the service provided by the Yellow Pages, it has done nothing for the state's directory advertisers. Pacific Telephone's Yellow Pages profits are actually higher than those of most companies in the Bell System. The Public Utilities Commission does not mind Yellow Pages overcharges, saying that the monopoly profits, figured into Pacific's allowable rate of return, help keep telephone rates down. But because the PUC's success has always been measured by its ability to hold down telephone rates, it has not even considered the possible economic benefits of lower Yellow Pages rates.

Bell spokesmen argue that no regulation is really needed, since the Yellow Pages is one advertising medium competing with other advertising media. The argument is unpersuasive; directory advertising is *not* just another advertising medium. As AT&T points out in its own literature, the Yellow Pages "is as available as the telephone itself" and, according to a 1969 survey, is used by 92 million people an average of forty times a year. Bell claims these people follow up their references 89 per cent of the time with a phone call, a visit, or a letter. A nice small ad in the local paper or on the local radio is hardly competition.

Nevertheless, the federal government has also refused to regulate the Yellow Pages. Nor has it sought remedial action. When the Department of Justice filed its antitrust suit against AT&T last November, there was no talk of the Yellow Pages. The proposal was to separate Western Elec-

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tric and at least part of Long Lines from the Bell System. Western Electric, to be sure, is eight times larger than AT&T's directory operations. But it accounts for only one and a half times the profits, which is a further indication of the Yellow Pages' not insubstantial importance.

The Justice Department would have a plausible antitrust case against the Yellow Pages. The irregular rate structure, the anti-competitive redistribution of directories and the abuse of the interconnects—when combined with the monopoly itself—might be grounds for action. In a case for divestiture, the Justice Department could easily show that Yellow Pages service is by no means a natural monopoly, and that *any* telephone company's control of the service is inherently anti-competitive. The large and expensive paperwork that any competitor would have to undertake to compile numbers and names has been a central reason for considering the publication of classified telephone directories a monopoly. Today, however, lists are easily compiled. The names and numbers of an entire city can be recorded on a few computer tapes. Yet telephone companies, in and out of the Bell System, continue to monopolize the Yellow Pages service, for the following reasons:

(*1*) A telephone company's salesmen have first access to service orders for new directory business. A competitor can ask a new firm to advertise only after the telephone company has done so.

(*2*) A telephone company selling advertising in a telephone directory has the psychological advantage of being considered "official," while a competitor would too often be considered less accurate, less dependable in its distribution, or less likely to be used by telephone customers.

(*3*) A telephone company already has a vast network of trucks for telephone maintenance. Maintenance employees can and do deliver telephone directories in making their rounds, and are not required to deliver a competitor's book as well. A competitor must pay high postage costs.

(*4*) A telephone company can use its existing billing machinery to bill for advertising in its classified directory, but will not do this for a competitor in directory advertising (no one would expect it). A competitor would have to set up a completely new billing department.

These are the reasons why Manhattan Blue Books, an independent publisher of neighborhood directories, is alarmed by the recent decision of New York Telephone to begin publishing its own neighborhood directories. None of those just announced will compete with Blue Books, but it is suspected that New York Telephone is getting ready to move into Blue Books' territory. Against a telephone company, Blue Books would not have a chance.

The Bell System could use its advantages in the publication of Yellow Pages to save businesses, and ultimately consumers, a lot of money. But it does not; instead, its advantages are used to everyone else's disadvantage. In fact, Justice Department attorneys have begun studying the Yellow Pages, and staff lawyers reportedly lean toward the divestiture remedy. Regulation would be futile, merely perpetuating the monopoly. Antitrust action is already seventy-five years late but, until it does come, the Yellow Pages will remain what it is: a monopolist's dream, sustained by manipulated demand, faced with no possibility of competition and, except nominally in California, totally unregulated. □

AFTER VIETNAM

A New Strategy for the Pacific

MICHAEL T. KLARE

Historians will undoubtedly point to the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975 as the beginning of a new epoch in Asia. From the Pentagon's viewpoint, however, the post-Vietnam era began on January 1, 1972, when the U.S. Pacific Command was assigned operational jurisdiction over U.S. forces in the Indian Ocean and adjacent areas—thus putting into effect the new strategic linkages between the Western Pacific, South Asia and the oil-rich Persian Gulf, and marking the ascendancy of the Navy as the principal instrument of U.S. power in the region.

The Pacific Command (PACOM), with headquarters in Hawaii, is now responsible for protecting U.S. interests in a region stretching from Alaska to Antarctica, and from California to Pakistan—an area of 94 million square miles, or 40 per cent of the earth's surface. Although U.S. ground forces have steadily been withdrawn from this area since the signing of the Vietnamese peace agreement in January 1973, U.S. naval forces have been strengthened. Today the Pacific Fleet—with 286 warships (including seven aircraft carriers), 2,100 warplanes and 265,000 sailors and Marines—is the world's most powerful maritime force.

The build-up of U.S. naval forces, and their growing penetration into the Indian Ocean, are related products of Washington's new strategic outlook. Vietnam clearly demonstrated that the American public will not tolerate the sacrifice of its young men in a protracted counter-guerrilla campaign on the mainland of Asia. With the declining value of the dollar, Vietnam also demonstrated that the United States cannot enjoy inflation-free prosperity at home, while maintaining an unlimited military apparatus abroad. Economic and political constraints have thus forced the current Administration to adopt new strategies embodying a more efficient and selective use of the nation's limited military resources.

The present outlook is formally summarized in the Nixon doctrine. As originally expressed, this policy assigns a reduced role for U.S. ground forces in Asia and looks "to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense." In

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practice, the doctrine has led to the expansion of American-armed client armies and a greater reliance on sea-based U.S. military capabilities. "As I understand the Nixon doctrine," Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Elmo Zumwalt affirmed, "future U.S. military involvement overseas will call first for the *high-technology, capital-intensive services*—air and naval forces—to support the indigenous armies of threatened allies." (Emphasis added.)

At the same time, Washington has been compelled to reassess all overseas U.S. commitments and to discard the more vulnerable and unprofitable ones, concentrating on those that provide the greatest benefits and are most easily defended. According to Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, America's post-Vietnam policy in Asia will stress the "steadfastness" of U.S. ties with traditional treaty allies—Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand—that are part of the island chain off the coast of Asia that is defensible." (Schlesinger's remarks were made at a press conference on May 1, two days after Saigon fell to rebel forces.) This cost-conscious outlook has also led to the growing U.S. involvement in the Indian Ocean-Persian Gulf area, for reasons easy to identify: the Gulf area contains some 60 per cent of the world's known petroleum reserves, and all of this oil must travel by tanker across the Indian Ocean to reach the United States, Europe and Japan. In this region also are some of the largest and most prosperous nations of the Third World; it thus becomes the site of a new naval rivalry between the two superpowers. In his final "posture statement" as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Thomas Moorer told Congress in 1974 that: "The United States has important interests in the area, even beyond the self-evident need for access to oil and mineral resources. We must demonstrate to both allies and would-be adversaries U.S. resolve to deter threats to the vital sea lanes of communication in the area."

Although the instruments of U.S. grand strategy in Asia have been modified in response to changing political and economic priorities, the paramount U.S. objective in the region has remained relatively consistent since the end of World War II: to replace obsolete colonial structures with a "free-trade" system subject to penetration and domination by American capital. This goal has required, in turn, the containment of the People's Republic of China, the defeat of national liberation movements in Southeast Asia, and the restoration of Japanese capitalism under American leadership. Twice in the past quarter-century substantial U.S. armies have fought in Asia to further these goals, and today more than 172,000 American soldiers still stand watch in the area to protect U.S. interests.American investments are growing at a faster rate in Asia than in any other area of the world, and U.S. trade with the region is now equal to 85 per cent of our trade with Europe.

American businessmen have developed the "Pacific Basin" concept to describe the outreach of American capitalism in Asia. "For most of modern history," Standard Oil of California's board chairman O.N. Miller wrote in 1973, "the focus of trade and industry was on the nations washed by the Atlantic Ocean. But 20th-century communication and transportation have shrunk the once formidable time and distance barriers of the Orient, and today within the Pacific Basin's vast, but now accessible regions are some of the most rapidly expanding national economies of the world." America's Vietnamese war spending helped spur the rapid economic growth in these countries, and now U.S. corporations want to repossess much of the area's new wealth. As former Bank of America president Rudolph Peterson has noted, "There is no more vast or rich area for resource development or trade growth in the world today than this immense region, and it is virtually in our own back yard."

In recent years the "Pacific Basin" concept has been stretched even further to encompass the Indian Ocean area which—since the 1967 closure of the Suez Canal—has been more accessible from the Pacific than from the Atlantic or Mediterranean. Rocco Paone, a professor of foreign affairs at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, has termed the Indian Ocean the newest "heartland of the world," and suggested that whoever controls the region can be dominant in shaping world politics.

To preserve U.S. hegemony in the vital Pacific-Indian Ocean area while avoiding the use of ground forces, the Pentagon has adopted a new naval-island strategy calling for American superiority at sea and the maintenance of offshore military strong points. By controlling the strategic waterways of Asia, the United States can exercise ultimate dominion over all nations whose economic survival is dependent upon seaborne imports of food, energy sources or strategic raw materials—that is, every nation except perhaps China. Such control is exercised first by the U.S. Pacific Fleet—by far the most powerful naval force in Asia—and second by a continuous chain of island bases stretching from the northwest Pacific to the Indian Ocean.

A strategy based on seaborne forces has, in theory, several advantages for the Pentagon: naval power can be brought to bear without physical intervention by U.S. troops, and can be confined to "surgical" attacks that begin and end quickly—before Congress or the public has a chance to voice any opposition. Naval forces, moreover, can be used in "show-of-force" operations designed to dissuade small countries from embarking upon policies deemed unfavorable to U.S. interests. Thus when the U.S.S. *Constellation* was sent into the Persian Gulf late last year—in the first visit to the gulf by a U.S. aircraft carrier in twenty-six years—most observers agreed that the voyage was designed to show the OPEC nations that Washington would use force in response to any future threat to U.S. oil supplies. (Needless to say, such operations are considered most effective when employed against the ex-colonial nations that have previously experienced naval attack.)

America's forward-deployed naval forces are supported by a network of island bases which stretches in an arc from Japan and Okinawa in the northwest Pacific to Taiwan, the Philippines and Guam in the southwest Pacific, and then on to Singapore and Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. These bases house critical logistical, communications and repair facilities, and serve as "home ports" for U.S. warships that are permanently stationed in the area. In addition, most of the American troops now being withdrawn from mainland bases in Thailand and Korea will be rehoused on nearby island bases. Thus the entire Third Marine Division—the first combat unit sent to Vietnam in 1965—is now based in Okinawa, and many Air Force units being pulled out of Thailand will be relocated

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at Clark Air Base in the Philippines. These forces remain available for rapid intervention in future crises (the Third Marines, for instance, was used to cover the evacuation of U.S. citizens from Phnom Penh and Saigon), and could be used to seize major ports, airfields, refineries or other coastal installations in conjunction with a naval assault. (This scenario was fully realized in the May 1975 *Mayagüez* affair.)

Of these island strongholds, the most important are in Japan, Okinawa, Micronesia and the Philippines. The Japanese port city of Yokosuka is the "home port" for the cruiser *Oklahoma City,* the Seventh Fleet flagship, as well as six destroyers and the aircraft carrier *Midway.* Okinawa (now returned to Japanese administration) is the principal U.S. Army logistical base in Asia and an important "stepping stone" for the giant Air Force transport planes that will ferry troops and supplies to any future battlefields in the Pacific region. Subic Bay, the mammoth Navy base near Manila, currently services 110 warships a month—three times the workload of 1964—and houses an ammunition dump with 95,000 tons of munitions (six times the amount stockpiled ten years ago). In Micronesia—site of a major U.S. military build-up—Guam already houses a Strategic Air Command B-52 base and a *Polaris* ballistic missile submarine base, while neighboring Tinian is slated to become an elaborate training, storage and logistics complex. Without these important bases (and others in Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii) the United States could not sustain its dominant military position in the Pacific Basin area. By the same token, the U.S. naval base at Diego Garcia is essential to an expanded U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean. "As Malta is to the Mediterranean," former U.S. PACOM commander Adm. John McCain once commented, "Diego Garcia is to the Indian Ocean.

America's island bases are more easily defended than any comparable mainland bases, since in the event of war the United States would control all surrounding air and sea areas. Politically, these countries are closely aligned with the United States, and, because of their historic ties with the West, U.S. troops could be sent to their defense at a much lower political cost than would be the case in any comparable action on the mainland. This perspective extends to South Korea, even though it is a mainland nation, because it is surrounded by water on three sides and can be defended with sea-based forces.

The political advantages of this offshore strategy were clearly spelled out by J.K. Holloway, Jr., U.S. Consul-General in Osaka-Kobe and a former Naval officer, in a 1972 essay in *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings:*

> The major and at all times overriding mission of the U.S. Navy in the western Pacific is to be the first-line deterrent and ultimate defense of the formal alliance partners of the United States who are supportable by seapower. . . .
>
> To would-be, globe-bestriding naval strategists, this absolute priority to nations which at this moment face little direct external threat may seem restrictive [but] it is also a mission that the American Congress and the American people will back. . . .

The heart of a fleet that fills this mission, Holloway added, "must continue to be the fast carrier force able to base itself in the western Pacific, able to stay long periods at sea, and able to protect itself at a distance against hostile submarines, aircraft and missile-bearing surface vessels."

Although this strategy appears at first sight to reduce U.S. military leverage in the Pacific theatre, it does not signal any departure on the part of Washington from the American goal of dominating the economic development of the entire area. In fact, the naval-island strategy has certain built-in advantages that become apparent only when one has investigated the consequences of U.S. economic policies in the area. By encouraging increased trade among the Pacific Basin countries, and helping (through increased aid and investments) to accelerate their economic "modernization" (i.e., industrialization and infrastructure development), the United States and its economic partners(particularly Japan) are tightening the dependence of these countries on the world capitalist market and thus on seaborne exports and imports—*all of which must be*

Oliphant (The Washington Star)

"By Golly, That Almost Hurt Me!"

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carried over waterways dominated by the U.S. Navy. From the perspective of U.S. policy makers, accelerated industrialization and economic development in the Pacific Basin have these important strategic consequences:

(*1*) Increased dependence on foreign sources of crude and refined petroleum, most of which will have to come from U.S. oil companies and all of which will have to be transported by ship.

(*2*) Increasing transformation of domestic agriculture into export-oriented cash-crop industries, precluding self-sufficiency in food and thus requiring increased (ship-borne) imports of foodstuffs.

(*3*) Increased development of high-technology, export-oriented industries, resulting in increased specialization in output and thus increased interdependence in raw materials, production equipment, specialized parts, etc.—most of which, of course, must be carried by sea.

(*4*) Finally, as a natural consequence of the above, the rapid formation of indigenous entrepreneurial elites whose prosperity depends to a large extent on their ties to the large multinational combines, and who thus become increasingly committed to the preservation of the world capitalist system.

In short, America's economic policies are continually enhancing the deterrent value of U.S. naval forces while at the same time advancing the interests of U.S. merchants and investors.

Although Pentagon officials tend to measure military preparedness in purely martial terms, they are aware of the linkages between economic and military policies and have been compelled by the shifting power relationships of post-Vietnam Asia to exploit such linkages when formulating grand strategy. This approach was advocated in a remarkable 1963 essay by Defense Secretary Schlesinger—then a systems analyst at the Rand Corporation—on "Strategic Leverage from Aid and Trade." In the past, Schlesinger argued, "the United States has failed to take advantage of the power potential implicit in aid and trade through its failure to develop concepts and mechanisms of deterrence in ways akin to what has been done in the military field." Much of this inadequacy, he noted, "may be ascribed to a failure to develop sanctions. . . . No system of deterrence can exclusively stress the carrot and ignore the stick."

The "carrot-and-stick" formula is particularly relevant to U.S. relations with the nonaligned nations of the Third World which, according to Schlesinger, are like "children" in need of strong parental guidance. Our policy toward these countries will be much more effective, he asserted, when we abandon "permissiveness" and adopt "a system of sanctions which is at least vaguely perceived in advance." While military force will continue to constitute America's ultimate sanction, Schlesinger indicated, it must develop "intermediate responses" to cope with "provocative action" on the part of rebellious Third World countries. Citing the blockade of Cuba as a model, he argued that restraints on trade constitute the most effective nonmilitary sanction for "punishing" aberrant countries. "Making access to American and other Western markets contingent on avoidance of overtly hostile acts, by providing a sanction, would alter the way in which underdeveloped nations perceived the environment." If such a nation adopted policies hostile to the West, he suggested, the United States could mount a blockade of that country's exports and thus cripple its economy. Despite the protests such an act might provoke, "the long-run therapeutic effect on other states of such action might be substantial."

Although Schlesinger could not have foreseen the tumultuous course of events in Vietnam, his argument is remarkably prescient of the naval-island strategy now being implemented. Indeed, he ultimately concludes that increased trade and interdependence can benefit both the military establishment and the U.S. business community: "Aside from the economic advantages which trade conveys, the expansion of trade under present conditions is useful in that by creating interdependence it provides a medium for nonmilitary deterrence." When linked, the Administration's military and economic policies provide a highly efficient and versatile tool for advancing U.S. interests in Asia. Further analysis suggests, however, that both policies presuppose the survival of the U.S.-Japanese alliance, and that the success of America's Pacific Basin strategy depends ultimately on its durability and dependability.

Since the early cold-war era, Japan has been viewed by U.S. policy makers both as a major basing complex for support of U.S. operations elsewhere in Asia, and as an economic giant whose loss to communism could change the balance of industrial might against the West. Japan's loyalty to the world capitalist system could be guaranteed, in Washington's view, only if Japan were assured access to adequate sources of raw materials and markets in the larger Pacific community. Thus, from the onset of the cold war, Southeast Asia and Japan have been closely linked in U.S. strategic planning. In one of the earliest insertions in the Pentagon Papers, the top military command noted:

> Orientation of Japan toward the West is the keystone of United States policy in the Far East. In the judgment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the loss of Southeast Asia to communism would, through economic and political pressures, drive Japan into an accommodation with the Communist bloc.

This premise was used to justify U.S. financing of the French war against the Vietminh (Washington ultimately underwrote 80 per cent of France's war costs), and then America's own disastrous intervention in Vietnam. Later, as the Japanese economy began its meteoric rise to third position in the world, Washington discovered other compelling reasons for expanding Japanese trade with Southeast Asia: *First*, to help reduce the flood of Japanese exports into the American market—where they have begun undermining domestic profits; *second*, to enhance Japan's stake in the survival of capitalist economies in the Pacific Basin and thus generate pressure for increased Japanese economic, political and military support of America's client regimes.

For the United States—its military capabilities clearly strained by the long, costly adventure in Vietnam—the second point has assumed particular relevance. Washington has consistently favored the expansion of Japan's military apparatus (within guidelines established by the United States) and this goal became a major concern of the Nixon administration. When Defense Secretary Laird visited Tokyo in July 1971 (the first visit to Japan by a U.S. Secre-

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tary of Defense), he told Japanese officials that Japan would have to play a more active role in the defense of pro-Western regimes—particularly those in South Korea and Taiwan—if the United States were to continue defending Japan against a nuclear threat. These demands were renewed when Kissinger visited Tokyo in June 1972, and have been voiced continuously since.

But though American strategy has always envisioned a wider role for Japan in Southeast Asia, it is only in the past few years that Japan has actively sought out the role designed for it. Japanese trade with non-Communist Asia has risen spectacularly since 1965, and Japanese investments in South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia are beginning to rival or surpass those of the United States. Keeping pace with these economic developments is the expansion of the Japanese military apparatus, which is called—in token adherence to Japan's no-war constitution—the Self-Defense Force (SDF). Under Tokyo's current Five-Year Defense Plan (the fourth to be adopted since 1950), the SDF will acquire sufficient bombers, warships and other weapons to extend Japan's "defense perimeter" to Okinawa and other offshore points hundreds of miles from the home islands. And, when the succeeding fifth Defense Plan is completed in 1980, Japan will possess the third most powerful navy and air force in Asia, and will have an amphibious capability sufficient to transport significant ground forces to other Asian battlefields.

Although U.S. strategy does not currently assume Japanese ground combat on the mainland of Asia, Washington expects Tokyo to take over many of the high-technology tasks now performed by American forces in Asia—particularly air defense and anti-submarine warfare. Japan is already responsible for the air and sea defense of U.S. bases in Japan and Okinawa, and participates in the joint air defense network covering South Korea as well as Japan. Tokyo also pledged—in the November 1969 Nixon-Sato communiqué on the reversion of Okinawa—to recognize South Korea as "essential to Japan's security" and Taiwan as a "most important factor for the security of Japan." Although Tokyo has never spelled out the meaning of these commitments, it is known that Japanese military officials have met with their American counterparts to discuss joint action in the case of military hostilities in South Korea or Taiwan.

As noted earlier, Japan also serves as a major U.S. "springboard" for military operations elsewhere in Asia. The elaborate complex of naval and air bases at Yokosuka, Sasebo, Iawkuni, Yokota and Yokohama constitute, with Okinawa, the most important U.S. communications, logistics and repair complex in Asia. Under the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty of 1960, America can use its Japanese bases in support of military operations anywhere in Asia, after the usual *pro forma* "consultations" with Tokyo (they were used to support U.S. operations in Vietnam). The importance of these bases became even greater in October 1973, when Yokosuka became the new "home base" of the U.S.S. *Midway*—the first U.S. aircraft carrier to be permanently stationed outside U.S. territorial waters. Although officially described as an "economy" measure that eliminates trips to California for repairs and servicing, the home-porting arrangement is clearly designed to upgrade the U.S. naval posture in the western Pacific and to compensate for the withdrawal of American ground troops.

Tokyo's continued adherence to this system will result in significant benefits for Japan, in terms of increased trade with Southeast Asia and continued U.S. protection of the vital sea routes linking Japan with its overseas markets and sources of critical raw materials. Nevertheless, there are growing tensions in the U.S.-Japanese relationship, and some indications that Tokyo may one day be compelled to sever the partnership. Ever since the famous "Nixon shocks" of 1971 (when without prior notice Washington announced a surcharge on Japanese imports to the United States and Nixon then visited Peking), many Japanese policy makers have advocated greater self-reliance in both foreign policy and long-range economic planning. These views were again voiced in 1975, when the United States pulled out of Cambodia and Vietnam.

Although Japan occupies a privileged position in the new Pacific Basin system being engineered in Washington, it is obviously a *subordinate* position. While encouraging Japan to expand its trade with Southeast Asia and to broaden its investments in such fields as textiles, electronics and timber, the United States has pre-empted the really decisive and lucrative investments in oil, minerals and refining. American oil firms and mining companies were the first to open up the area to resource development, and their initiative has paid off handsomely in petroleum and mineral discoveries and concessions. Indeed, a map of oil concessions in Southeast Asia published by *Petroleum News* in mid-1974 shows that American firms have already staked off the largest and richest offshore oil concessions in the region. American firms also dominate such crucial fields as offshore drilling technology and mineral exploration. All this suggests that resource-hungry Japan will continue to be dependent on U.S.-controlled sources of raw materials, and that its stake in many of the most lucrative industries will continue to be overshadowed by that of the United States.

The unequal nature of the U.S.-Japan alliance is also evident in the military realm: although Washington wants Japan to expand its defense role in Asia, it opposes any moves that would promote Japanese self-sufficiency in military power and thus opposes the development of an independent nuclear capability.

Ultimately, the success or failure of the U.S. naval-island strategy is dependent on the survival of the existing alliance system with Japan. Without its Japanese bases and without Japan's participation in the emerging Pacific Basin system, the United States can hardly expect to remain the dominant power in the area. Yet as Japan's desire for greater economic independence and self-reliance grows—and undoubtedly it will—Tokyo will inevitably come into conflict with Washington's efforts to control the terms and direction of trade and investment in Asia.

When wrestling with the difficult problem of U.S.-Japanese relations, Administration policy makers are obviously constrained by the truly narrow range of options available to them. On one hand, Washington wants Tokyo to assume a more active role in the development and defense of the Pacific Basin system, while on the other hand it cannot permit Japan to reduce significantly its dependence on U.S. military forces and raw materials suppliers. Ultimately the United States cannot help to build a stronger Japan without at the same time generating pressures for

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greater Japanese autonomy in economic and military affairs and thus increased dissension and competition within the Pacific Basin system as a whole.

While the defection of Japan represents the gravest potential threat to America's Pacific Basin strategy in Asia, many other conflicts, rivalries and tensions pose significant threats to the stability of the system as a whole. We should not forget, for instance, that despite two major wars, numerous counterinsurgency campaigns and tens of billions of dollars in military-assistance funding, the United States has *not* succeeded in destroying the indigenous revolutionary movements that have taken root in the region. Moreover, instead of exercising direct, on-the-spot control of its Asian dependencies, the United States has adopted a strategy of indirect control based on threat, intimidation, trade controls and the use of mercenaries; and, while such a strategy can provide some short-term relief to an overextended empire, it cannot provide long-term stability since ultimately it is the *perception* of power that is important. As the overt presence of the United States fades, so will its capacity to contain the disruptive forces already present within the system.

The unstable nature of the Pacific Basin system becomes particularly evident when one considers that the new Pentagon strategy is based on continued U.S. support for military dictators. These rulers—Park in Korea, Marcos in the Philippines, Chiang Ching-kuo in Taiwan, Suharto in Indonesia, Shah Pahlavi in Iran—have become completely isolated from the populations of their countries and have had to adopt increasingly repressive measures to retain control. As their repressive frenzy mounts, so does the certainty that their downfall will result in sweeping political and social change. And, since the United States has been so closely identified with the incumbent regimes, it is equally certain that any new governments will seek to diminish or eliminate the influence of Washington. This process is already visible in Cambodia and South Vietnam, and can even be detected in Thailand—where the new constitutional government has demanded, and obtained, the withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

This analysis suggests that instabilities in Asia and the weakening of the U.S.-Japanese alliance constitute the most immediate threat to Washington's Pacific Basin system; as Vietnam demonstrated, however, events in Asia cannot be separated from the political process at home and any strategy for continued U.S. domination in Asia is certain to generate some resistance in the United States itself. Already, the Ford Administration has encountered considerable difficulty in persuading Congress to vote the funds needed to sustain U.S. clients in Asia. Congress cut spending for Indochina almost in half in 1974, and began a phase-out of U.S. aid to South Korea. With the trend toward lower aid appropriations gaining momentum, it is unlikely that Washington can continue to promise its Asian allies the kind of subsidies to which they have become accustomed.

The intimacy of relationships between events in Asia, Japan and the United States becomes most obvious when one considers the ultimate contingency: the outbreak of a new armed revolution in one of America's key Pacific strongholds. Should the United States intervene with the full weight of its forces, there is no guarantee of success on the battlefield and every likelihood that such action would provoke widespread dissent at home. If instead, Washington applied the Nixon doctrine and used indigenous ground troops supported by U.S. air and naval forces, there would be even less likelihood of success. Washington could, of course, acquiesce in the revolt and impose economic sanctions on the revolutionary government (as in the case of Cuba), but such a passive response is bound to encourage dissidents elsewhere to step up their struggle against the local U.S. client. In other words, *any* U.S. response to a revolt will provoke resistance and dissent in some other segment of the Pacific Basin system, and thus none of the strategies available to Washington can guarantee long-term U.S. supremacy in an Asian alliance. □

BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN

ASSYRIANS ON THE MILLSTONE

FRANCIS SARGUIS and BENEDICT BEIT-ISHOO

Studying ancient history, one learns that the Assyrian nation fought, conquered and ruled with unparalleled zeal and pride from 1814 B.C. to 612 B.C.—an incredible twelve centuries. This same pride, the Bible tells us, was the cause of Assyria's downfall (at the hands of the Medes); but, many believe, its persistence has enabled the Assyrians to retain a grip on their identity and "pride of nation" even to the present day.

Assyrians have emigrated to all parts of the world but for those who haven't, their heartland these many centuries has remained the Hakkiari Mountains of southeastern Turkey, northwest Iran and, more especially, northern Iraq. This latter is affectionately called Bet Nahrain, which translates as "the land between the two rivers" (the Tigris and the Euphrates). Site of the fabulous cities of Nineveh and Nimrod, Bet Nahrain understandably evokes special emotions.

The Assyrian population in Bet Nahrain—estimated

Francis Sarguis was born of Assyrian parents who immigrated from Iran to France. In 1947 he himself came to the United States, where he graduated from the University of California and the Yale Law School. He practices law in Santa Barbara, Calif. Benedict Beit-Ishoo is an Assyrian immigrant from Iran who holds a Ph.D. in French literature from the University of Oregon. He has taught Romance languages for several years at the University of Southern California.

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today roughly at 200,000—has been a minority even there. Because of that disadvantage, Assyrians have attracted aggressors and periodic massacres. Their lot became particularly hard in the eighth century A.D. and thereafter, when Islam spread over the region, but conspicuously failed to convert the Assyrians from their Christian faith.

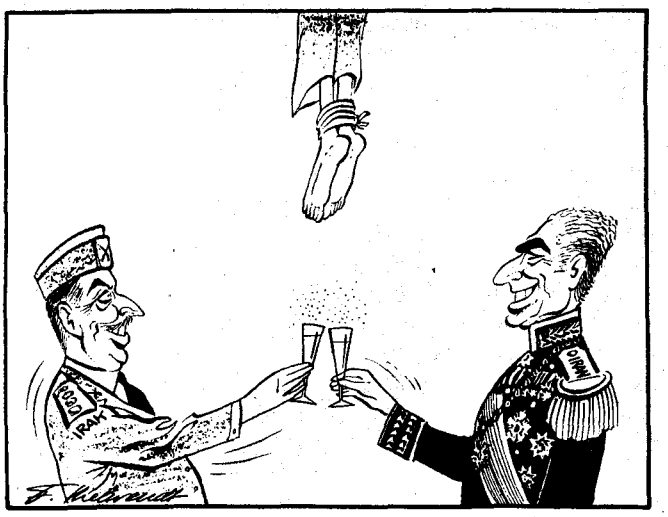
According to prevailing theory, the Assyrian Christian Church dates back to the time when St. Thomas the Apostle sojourned in the region on his way to India. A second theory links the Assyrian Church with the Magi—the Wise Men—who, on their return to Persia from Bethlehem, are said to have built St. Mary's Church in northwest Persia (claimed to be the oldest church in the world and the burial site for one of the Magi). Under either theory, Assyrian Christianity predates that of the Western world by many centuries. In the 19th century, the Church of England was the first of many that sought to win over the Assyrians. The work of English, French and American missionaries was not without success, and many Assyrians today identify themselves as Presbyterians and Catholics. However, the ancient Assyrian Church survives, loyal to its traditions and its hereditary Patriarch.

The plight of the Assyrians has in the 20th century been a source of international concern on several occasions. In the years 1914-17, Turkish forces caused most Assyrians to escape to northwest Iran. They were savagely brutalized by Turks as well as by Kurds in 1918, in what later became northern Iraq. The Arab government of Iraq did nothing to stop a massacre of the Assyrians in 1933; and further atrocities were committed against them throughout the region after World War II.

Today, with an apparent end to the fighting between the Iraqi military and the Kurds in northern Iraq, the future of the Assyrians is once again at issue. But, while the American press provided almost daily coverage of the Kurds in the recent conflict, the Assyrians, who are very much caught up in this theatre of conflict, have been totally ignored.

The Kurds descend from the same Medes who toppled the Assyrians in ancient times. When the Ottoman Empire was dismembered after World War I, the Kurds had high hopes for an independent state of Kurdistan. However, that never materialized, and the region was carved up among Russia, Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Iraqi Kurdistan, which is the home for nearly 3 million Kurds, is substantially the same area also considered "home" by the Assyrians. Throughout the fifty years since Iraq was created by the Western allies, the Kurds have resisted subjugation by Arab rule. To express their national aspirations, they launched a serious armed resistance against the Baghdad government in 1961. From the start of the conflict, the Kurds drafted a number of young Assyrians. However, it should be said that if Assyrian participation was half-hearted at first, it surely became more enthusiastic as the war progressed. Systematic bombardment of Assyrian and Kurdish villages alike created unprecedented solidarity among these traditional antagonists.

During the fourteen years of war between Iraq and the Kurds, Iran played a key role. For years, relations between Iran and Iraq have been strained. Boundary disputes are most often cited as the basis for the animosity, but in Iran there is deep resentment over Iraqi treatment of Shi'a



Het Parool (Amsterdam)

Moslems as second-class citizens. In both countries, the Shi'a Moslems are the largest sect, but in Iraq the Sunni Moslems have always had the upper hand politically.

Thus, the Shah saw aid to the Kurdish rebellion as an easy way to weaken a rival power, and Iran gave the Kurdish (and Assyrian) fighters valuable military supplies and even some artillery and antiaircraft support. Reportedly, Iran also provided the Kurds with $100 million a year in financial assistance. And it offered the guerrilla troops sanctuary whenever Iraqi military sallies dictated.

All this has changed with the signing of the March 5th agreement in Algiers between the Shah of Iran and the ruling Baathist junta in Baghdad. According to press communiqués, the essence of the agreement is that, in return for an Iranian promise to give the Kurds no further aid, Baghdad agrees to settle a boundary dispute over the strategic Shatt al Arab waterway on terms favorable to the Shah. Another motive for this sudden peace between long-time bitter enemies is thought to be that the multinationals regard Iraq as a desirable client state, provided that its political climate is somewhat stabilized.

Following the signing of the agreement, Baghdad announced that all Kurds must immediately lay down their arms, for doing which they were promised amnesty. But if they refused, they were warned that by a certain deadline, a few weeks ahead, the full might of the Iraqi Army would sweep through the Kurdish areas and eliminate the opposition. Iran's border was to remain open to Kurdish refugees at least until the deadline, but many of the Assyrians and Kurds who might wish to flee to Iran (and who have no way of doing so except on foot) could not possibly cross the mountainous territory in so short a time.

There are perhaps 200,000 Assyrians in the United States, many of whom have immigrated from Iraq in the past ten years. A number of these recent immigrants bring grim tales of the treatment of Assyrians in northern Iraq. Pierre Toulakany, president of the Assyrian National Federation of the U.S.A., and himself an immigrant from Iran, is disturbed by a report, recently received, according to which the Iraqi offer of amnesty seems addressed to the Kurds and to no other peoples. Because the Assyrian fighters wanted to determine whether Baghdad intended to include them in the offer, a four-man Assyrian delegation

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was sent to Baghdad to make the inquiry. According to the report, all four Assyrians were summarily shot, and their bodies returned to their villages.

The Kurds have been most vocal about their concern for the future safety of their people. According to a story in *The New York Times* on March 25, a representative of the Kurdistan Democratic Party has appealed for help to the United Nations to intervene "before this Iraqi war of aggression develops into a war of genocide." The major concern is for the civilians—the vast majority of the Kurds, and certainly the vast majority of the Assyrians—who did not participate in the war. It is among them that reprisal is feared.

In the face of this potential genocide, have the news media in this country provided fair coverage to the public? It is true that the *Times* reported almost daily on, first the fighting, and then the debacle of the Kurds. But information provided to the American public has been significantly inferior to that made available in Western Europe. Furthermore, there has not been a single reference to the Assyrians in any of the reports published about the war. Nor have the media been alone in overlooking the Assyrians; the major powers, and most notably the United States, have ignored the problem.

The lonely task of aiding these beleaguered Assyrians has fallen on the shoulders of the World Council of Churches, which apparently understands the special vulnerability of Christians in that area. But the council's assistance has been limited to food and shelter for a number of Assyrian refugees in Iran and Lebanon, and no aid of any kind has been available to those in northern Iraq since Iran withdrew its participation.

A proud people with a strong sense of their history and tradition, most Assyrians in northern Iraq would like to remain in their "homeland." No doubt the majority will still be there when the date specified by the Iraqi arrives. When that time comes, there is little doubt that the Kurdish civilian population stands to suffer at the hands of Baghdad. But the fate of the Assyrians may be still more bitter. For, like the Iraqi, the Kurds are Moslems—in fact, both are Sunni Moslems and their antagonism has no religious overtone. But over the years, it has been evident that nothing arouses a Moslem Arab quite as much as Christianity. To compound the problem, the eager participation of Assyrians on the side of the Allies in both World Wars has reinforced the view in Baghdad that Assyrians harbor pro-Western sympathies (hardly a popular image with the Baathist government).

In the half century since its creation, Iraq has had many government upheavals. However, its antagonistic treatment of Assyrians—as well as Kurds—has been constant. It has been considered a matter of national importance that ethnicity be eradicated, since it is seen as nothing but a source of future agitation. Such a policy has been pursued by various means, including an occasional massacre, some expulsions and dispersal by compulsory relocation. Again, while this process of homogenization (usually called "Arabization") is of serious concern to both Assyrians and Kurds, the Assyrian is most seriously threatened because of his relatively smaller numbers. While our ability to render assistance to the Assyrians of northern Iraq is at present open to question, it would be a useful beginning if the fate of these people were at least recognized by those who decide what our news is to be. Perhaps a genuine lack of understanding has caused this failure of communication. Assyrians everywhere hope it will change. □

POLITICAL TRIALS

THE MYTH OF DISRUPTION

WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER and MARGARET L. RATNER

Last summer, after the dismissal of all charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks for their participation in the 1973 Indian occupation of Wounded Knee, S. Dak., the then Attorney General, William Saxbe, ordered a study to be made into the reasons why the government was losing all of its major political trials. A month ago, the Justice Department released the results of its survey. "These cases were lost," it declared, "because they were tried before jurors at least partially composed of people willing to be convinced, or willing to believe the exculpatory motives alleged by the defense. The defense sought, and was able to evoke, the sense that the government used the legal system to legitimize or enforce unpopular policies and decisions."

Belying this conclusion, more than 90 per cent of the report is devoted to advancing the proposition that defense-inspired disruption in the courtroom contributed significantly to government defeats in one celebrated case after another. Thus, the department is perpetuating, by innuendo, inference and often outright falsehood, the long-discredited myth that it does not win its most important cases primarily because of calculated defense misconduct. Despite Watergate, the Big Lie is apparently as viable as ever in Washington circles.

The self-serving caricature theory of premeditated disruption by the defense was created in the Chicago Conspiracy Trial of 1969-70. Despite the fact that a higher court cited hundreds of instances of judicial and prosecutorial misconduct during that trial, the popular impression, fostered by government press releases, persisted that the defendants and their attorneys had perfected a plan of systematic courtroom disruption that made an orderly trial

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impossible. For example, in May of 1971, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger had accepted this mythology and bitterly attacked "overzealous advocates [who] seem to think the zeal and effectiveness of a lawyer depend on how thoroughly he can disrupt the proceedings or how loud he can shout or how close he can come to insulting all those he encounters—including the judges. . . ."

This concept found ready acceptance by the American Bar Association, which adopted a special report of its Project on Standards for Criminal Justice relating to "The Judge's Role in Dealing with Trial Disruption." Federal and state courts followed suit by promulgating new rules designed to punish attorneys for "conduct prejudicial to the administration of justice." Sen. James Buckley (C., N.Y.) introduced legislation authorizing federal district courts to disbar lawyers for "conduct unbecoming a member of the bar. . . ."

On the other hand, the Special Committee on Courtroom Conduct of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York released in 1973 the results of a two-year study on courtroom disruption. In his preface to the report, Burke Marshall, a former U.S. Assistant Attorney General and the committee's chairman, wrote that:

> . . .the Bar as a whole misconstrued, both publicly and in its private councils, the dimensions and causes of courtroom disorders. In speeches, reports, panels, judicial conferences, and other forums, the law professors acted at that time as if the courts of this country had suddenly been taken over by an organized group of radical lawyers interested only in destroying the system that was protecting their clients. This panic did great and lasting damage to the public perception of the processes of the laws, for it exaggerated far out of proportion the problems that had occurred in a few courtrooms, particularly Judge Hoffman's in Chicago. Further, it confused zeal in the defense of clients with revolution, and thus moved in the direction, with threats of disbarment, of intimidating defense counsel.

The study concluded that "there is no serious quantitative disruption in American courts" and that "courtroom disorder . . . has been overemphasized."

To explain why the Justice Department has now returned to the rationalization of courtroom disruption, one need only refer to the moral bankruptcy of an agency which can even ask the question, "why do we lose?," thus making a sporting event out of a political trial. More important, this tactic attempts to undercut the fact that jurors the country over are refusing to convict political defendants, and to rob these acquittals of any social significance. The truth of the matter, as the Justice study itself concedes, is that the electorate is educable and that the American juror now understands that "the government uses the legal system to legitimize or enforce unpopular policies and decisions."

Moreover, the methodology of the report, which cites totally fictitious events to support its thesis, is appalling. The Chicago defendants did not, as the report states, display "obscene photographs at the beginning of court sessions," and Judge Hoffman was not "often interrupted with calls of 'you prick.' " Spectators at the Wounded Knee trial did not "when a chief prosecution witness was on the stand . . . answer his testimony with whispers of 'liar, liar, liar' building to a roar."

As the report slips to its conclusion, the outlines of its immediate objective become increasingly clear. Five of the six remedies suggested by its drafters relate to defense attorneys, including such recommended sanctions as more frequent resort to the contempt power, suspension from practice, forced removal from the courtroom, stricter controls of out-of-state counsel and increased use of bar association disciplinary proceedings. Furthermore, by alleging that two organizations which have been active in furnishing lawyers for many of those it indicts—the National Lawyers Guild and the Center for Constitutional Rights—supply "a recurring group of experienced personnel for trial work and research," it is not above intimating that a subversive conspiracy is operating against government prosecutors.

The resuscitation of the disruptive trial technique as an important cause of governmental defeats, coupled with the strong suggestion that the cure lies in greater supervision of certain defense attorneys, signifies what is the department's interim tactical response—an attack on the lawyers who can be expected to represent many of its future targets. But it is obvious that its long-term goal is to undermine and discredit the jury system itself, so that there will be an end to jurors "willing to be convinced . . . or to believe the exculpatory motives alleged by the defense." This is the real—and frightening—theme underlying this strange and misleading apologia. □

Acupuncture: Child of the Media

LILLIAN AFRICANO

Once upon a time, a Chinese soldier took an arrow in his shoulder (or maybe it was his toe, depending on which folk tale you believe). Before he could feel sorry for himself, the pierced warrior discovered that his chronic migraine had been relieved. Since there were practical drawbacks to repeating this kind of cure, someone must have asked the fateful question "why?" (a question now being asked in Western terms) and the folk medicine known as acupuncture was born.

All of this supposedly happened thousands of years ago, but not until the early part of this decade did acupuncture become a darling of the American media. With its enormous potential for dramatic photography, not to mention stories of both the "miracle" and "hoax" variety, acupuncture may have run second only to Watergate as a consumer of newsprint. The result has been a stew of concepts, opinions and data, first-hand reporting and hearsay.

Lillian Africano is the editor of Acupuncture News Digest.

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"Acupuncture saves," proclaims a graffito on a subway station wall. "A pseudoscientific metaphysical pseudoentity," states an article in an osteopathic journal. "A gift dropped into our laps," rhapsodizes a practicing physician, while an editorial in the *Journal of the AMA* censures the uncontrolled practice of "the two-armed bandit."

Taking a broad point of view, one can probably find some truth in many of the diverse opinions expressed, for although the needling art has been around for a long time, statistical data in this country are skimpy, uncoordinated and often confusing. No sooner does a "miracle" story appear in the press than an opposing item reports a failure. The potential consumer must then sort out the odds for himself, with care and discrimination.

According to records found on bone etchings, acupuncture may have been used in China as far back as 1600 B.C. The first known books are the *Tso Chuan*, written in the fourth century B.C. and the *Hungdi Neiging Suwen*, dating back to 200 B.C. The technique was part of a varied and colorful pharmacopoeia of folk medicine; it was also part of a philosophical system which defines and describes health in somewhat poetic and decidedly non-Western terms.

After the Chinese Empire was overthrown in 1911, old medical practices, acupuncture among them, were discredited. Under the new republic, only Western methods, identified with progress and reform, were taught in the medical schools. Acupuncture went underground, to be practiced among the peasants by the "barefoot doctors." In 1949, the regime of Chairman Mao, faced with shortages of medical supplies and a scarcity of Western-trained personnel, encouraged an acupuncture revival.

The basic technique involves piercing the skin to a depth of several millimeters or more with a fine needle. Some variations call for twirling the needle, electronic stimulation and "pecking," which imitates the motion of a woodpecker. Some newspaper accounts have called acupuncture "painless," but it produces a variety of sensations, ranging from a fairly mild pricking to a tingling, possibly even an "electrical" shock. Chinese acupuncture charts locate more than 1,000 prescription points distributed along twelve main "meridians" of the body. Traditionally, needling has been used to relieve pain as well as to exert a balancing effect on organs which are functioning in an overactive or underactive way.

In Europe, this kind of healing has had a sporadic history for more than a century, having been introduced by returning missionaries and diplomats. The well-known Western names in the field are all European: Mann in England, Nogier in France, Bischko in Austria. America, too, had an early flirtation with acupuncture; it is mentioned in antique medical books, where it is recommended as a cure for backaches and related miseries. However, the primitive equipment and dubious skills of practitioners undoubtedly led many prospective clients to choose the disease over the cure. Thick needles (which resembled ladies' hatpins) were driven into the skin with small hammers. Common aftereffects were scarring and infection. Early American acupuncture faded into history about a century ago, and the cultural barriers closed with a resounding clap. Until recently, the few available books on acupuncture in English shared shelf space with works on magic and the occult. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gave the entire subject a few hundred words of description in the careful manner of a district attorney presenting a case on a faith healer.

A basic intellectual problem for many Americans, both lay people and doctors, was the inability to separate the intriguing empirical aspects of acupuncture from a system of thought which has, as a universal principle, the classification of everything as Yin (passive female element) or Yang (active male element). All that exists is labeled as one of the five elements: wood, fire, earth, metal and water. Life is defined in terms of *Ch'i*, energy which circulates around the body from organ to organ; disease is disharmony or imbalance of the elements, or a surplus or shortage of *Ch'i*. As if all this weren't alien enough, acupuncture comes out of a system wherein a first-class doctor is one who keeps his patients healthy, rather than one who treats them when they become ill. He is therefore paid only when his clients enjoy good health.

Wang Wei-tö (1031 A.D.)

Though there had been isolated explorations, the American medical profession as a whole had shown little

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inclination to investigate this exotic modality—until the Nixon visit to China triggered an avalanche of acupuncture stories. James Reston and Harrison Salisbury were perhaps the most celebrated of the journalists who brought back dramatic accounts of surgical procedures, from cataract removal to Caesarean birth, performed with acupuncture analgesia. These stories often stressed the human or humane aspects of Chinese medicine and featured such illustrations as fully conscious patients sipping tea while "under the knife."

The publicity stirred large segments of the public imagination. American medicine had been short on miracles for those who were questioning the practices of conventional healing and those to whom such healing offered no relief. Many women became interested in the possibilities of "acupuncture deliveries," both normal and Caesarean, which offered a drugless and painless experience. The infirm of both sexes took notice of reported cures of a vast panorama of human ailments, ranging from deafness to tennis elbow.

A particularly fascinating aspect of acupuncture was its possible use as a bridge between organic and "psychosomatic" problems. Chinese medicine had never recognized a barrier between mind and body, had indeed seen and treated the "psychic" factor in physical illness. So while work was begun at major universities to study this phenomenon, individual physicians started to treat with acupuncture frustrating ailments like depression, anxiety, sexual complaints—even the group of symptoms commonly labeled "schizophrenia."

(Although no scientific conclusions could be drawn from the limited number of case histories, still another acupuncture application was celebrated in hundreds of newspaper stories throughout the nation. It had been discovered that needling or stapling (with stainless steel surgical staples) key ear points could eliminate or reduce the symptoms of drug and nicotine withdrawal—and possibly the hunger pangs of overweight dieters.)

With such a dazzling potential for colorful reporting, acupuncture became the favorite medical baby of the mass media, one that was displayed to the American public, not through routine medical channels but through newspapers, magazines and television. The medical establishment was caught off balance—its members were often as scantily informed as the general public. Yet it was to the doctors that legislators looked for guidance, in the face of a burgeoning consumer demand for the treatment.

When the response did come, it was far from unified, being governed by both a concern for the public (which after all receives, by prescription, great quantities of dubious pharmacological products) and an element of trade unionism (since relatively few American doctors were able to offer acupuncture treatment). Dr. George A. Ulett, director of Neuropsychiatric Services and the Psychosomatic Research Laboratory at Deaconess Hospital in St. Louis, summed up the dilemma of the American physician in *Missouri Medicine*, official journal of the Missouri State Medical Association:

> Acupuncture is an ancient treatment method that has newly appeared on the U.S. medical scene. Although as yet almost universally absent from the curricula of American medical schools, it is demanded by thousands of patients who have failed to find relief from traditional Western medical treatments. This has placed U.S. physicians in a quandary and tempted some state legislatures to legislative action removing the practice of acupuncture from rational medical supervision, placing it in the hands of non-medical "acupuncturists" who stand ready to take over wherever medicine has failed. Individual physicians, medical societies, schools and licensing boards must soon decide what position they will take as regards this technique.
>
> For the most part they face the problem of where to turn for accurate factual data. . . . Available books and journals. . . . include uncritical statements and articles in which ancient principles . . . serve to confuse and turn away the modern physician. Much of the current research . . . is being done in China with reporting outside of the usual accepted channels of communication to Western physicians. The *Journal of the AMA*'s editorial policy has not been helpful, for reports of clinical experience and research data from U.S. physicians interested in this subject and working in university settings have been rejected in favor of articles giving anecdotal accounts and personal opinions of physicians who have themselves not practiced acupuncture.

While some doctors took an adversary position, labeling the technique "quackupuncture," others set about acquiring acupuncture training, and a few went for the quick profits, using their medical credentials to establish clinics staffed by needle-wielding Orientals with no medical training (and in some cases no knowledge of English).

State legislatures wavered between two extremes, with the result that the legal status of acupuncture came to resemble that of pornography, with some states decidedly more hospitable than others. At one extreme were states that gave acupuncture an "experimental" rating, restricting its practice to hospitals and other authorized facilities, under strict medical supervision. At the other extreme, Nevada predictably passed the most wide-open laws. There, acupuncture was legalized amidst a flurry of public relations razzmatazz, which included free acupuncture treatments for members of the legislature. When it was formulated, the Nevada law permitted the practice of acupuncture by technicians who are not physicians, under the supervision of a five-man board.

The state medical society refused to cooperate in manning the board, and the *Journal of the AMA* let loose an editorial blockbuster: "Heavens be praised! The Nevada Legislature has done it again. It has legalized the two-armed bandits. The two-armed one has ancient history in the Orient, and is something of a Chinese bandit, who uses acupuncture needles with electric twirlers. . . . The slot machines will be moved over to make room for the needle men. . . . Abortion-producing needles are said to be on the way . . . but Nevada can expect stiff competition from the black market in acupuncture in all major American cities."

As usual, the public got caught in the middle. Most pitiful were the "Lourdes" cases, those for whom Western medicine had no treatment and who claimed to have found some relief with acupuncture. Charter busses began traveling the distance of one, two or three states, transporting patients to where acupuncture was available. Some took the simpler, more dangerous step of patronizing bootleg operations where they could end up

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with a "doctor" whose only qualifications were an Oriental physiognomy, an acupuncture chart and a set of needles. For illegal practitioners, the profits involved were often worth the risk—a single practice in New York City last year allegedly grossed $11,000 a week.

If acupuncture were not such a benign technique, horror stories undoubtedly would have proliferated on a nationwide basis. Last year the *Journal of the AMA* ran a rather prejudicial account of acupuncture complications, in which the problems cited were essentially the results of moxibustion (which uses ignited herbs on the skin) or the practice of acupuncture outside sound medical conditions.

Obviously there is a danger in being poked with needles by someone who doesn't know anatomy, who doesn't recognize that pain might signal a serious or life-threatening situation—in short, by anyone who is not knowledgeable in all that medicine has to offer. With a product as foreign to America as this one, it would seem prudent at this point to insist on quality control.

Popular with reporters at the moment are narratives of legal battles by various groups seeking to get or hold pieces of a very juicy pie. Sometimes these are fronted for by former patients; sometimes they represent enormously profitable wholesale needle operations, with either token doctors or none at all in attendance. Occasionally they elicit impassioned journalistic rhetoric from writers who are cynical about the vested interests of the medical establishment—and unaware of other forms of interest. For example, a Canadian reporter finished his account of the recent court case of *B.C. College of Surgeons* vs. *The North American School of Acupuncture* thus: "If Leung and his school are found innocent of any wrong-doing, then a precedent will be set for further exploration in the field of acupuncture. If he loses, it will prove, once again, that the CPS, like the AMA, is powerful and supremely paranoid regarding the effectiveness and validity of Oriental medicine. . . .Acupuncture poses a very real threat to the livelihood of surgeons all over the Western world. Will big money win again?"

Whether or not the reporter was right about the AMA, the CPS or "big money," he failed to mention (perhaps he did not know) that the defendant in the case was preparing at that moment to open a correspondence school of acupuncture in the United States. A distinction needs to be made between action that is discriminatory and action that has some basis in common sense.

Somewhat hidden by the emotional veneer, the field still offers slowly accumulating data to the investigative reporter, data which might ultimately make acupuncture a bona-fide, scientific "miracle." For dozens of tantalizing questions have been raised as to how and why it affects blood chemistry and bone healing, how and why it can shorten labor in childbirth. If the "cure of the thousand needles" does indeed represent "a new frontier," as some of its advocates claim, it may well lead medicine into the area of modern physics. In *The Osteopathic Physician*, Dr. Irving Oyle suggested: "Our physical bodies can be conceived as patterned arrangements of electrolyte solutions whose laminar flow produces electromagnetic fields probably relating to the acupuncture meridian system. This electromagnetic energy is called *'Ch'i'* by the Chinese and 'Bioplasmic energy' by Russian physicists."

At a recent two-day symposium on "Healing," conducted by the University of California Extension, Santa Cruz, Dr. Thelma Moss, assistant professor of medical psychology at the Neuropsychiatric Institute, UCLA, discussed Russian activity in the field, as well as in her specialty of Kirlian photography—which, some theoreticians speculate, may eventually link up scientifically with acupuncture. The Russians, said Dr. Moss, are studying acupuncture in conjunction with laser beams and have developed such acupuncture apparatus as an electronic "pencil" flashlight that locates acupuncture points.

Acupuncture has also been discussed in comparative studies with the relatively "new" phenomenon of biofeedback, and it has been stimulating a re-examination of the relatively old technique of hypnotism. Though most of the feature material on the subject focuses on its practical applications, there has been no shortage of intellectual activity—for many doctors are aware that the ultimate mantle of respectability can probably be achieved most easily with an acceptable theoretical explanation. Such an explanation would, of course, also add the important elements of predictability and control to the practice of acupuncture.

In a recent newspaper interview, Dr. Fred Lynd, professor of laboratory animal science, pathology and anatomy at the University of Texas, discussed a decade of animal experimentation which, he says, "is providing a model for use with humans." Dr. Lynd, who believes the answers to many acupuncture questions are already in some medical books somewhere, perhaps in some overlooked footnotes, adds his own speculation, based on his experiments with nerve endings just under the skin. He calls it "circuit overload," suggesting that the brain receives a series of low-level pain messages when the needles are inserted. With all the message circuits filled, there is then no place for the message from a big pain to go.

The latest theory in print is offered by Dr. Gerald L. Looney, assistant professor in the Department of Emergency Medicine, University of Southern California School of Medicine, in *Modern Medicine* (April 15). He postulates:

> (A) The acupuncture needle is used to locate collections of certain afferent group A and C fibers in known nerve trunks and branches, in or near the walls of blood vessels, in the overlying fascia, or in the mass of various muscles. (B) The needle then becomes either a mechanical stimulator . . . or an electrode . . . . (C) Finally a stream of neural impulses analogous to a flow of energy into the central nervous system . . . produces immediate autonomic responses called somatosympathetic reflexes. These reflexes correct sympathetic or para-sympathetic deficiencies, a phenomenon that the ancient Chinese called balancing the Yin and the Yang.

The title of Dr. Looney's article is "Acupuncture Vindication May Lie in Basic Research," which is a possibility. The doctor is aware, however, that legislators, clinicians, researchers—not to mention keepers of grant money—can be influenced by negative distortions both in the popular and medical press. One practitioner went even further in the direction of pessimism. "The press," he said, "is all played out with the kind of acupuncture stories they've been writing. Now they're just waiting for the first big malpractice suit. Then you'll really see a circus." The media giveth and it taketh away. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Another Voyage of the Pequod?

FAR TORTUGA. *By Peter Matthiessen. Random House. 408 pp. $10.95.*

CHARLES R. LARSON

In an introductory note to his new novel, Peter Matthiessen informs his readers that in 1503 Ferdinand Columbus referred to two small islands in the Caribbean as the "Tortugas," because the islands were full of turtles. "Later, these islands were confused with Far Tortuga, called *Misteriosa* by the Spanish, a remote cay on the outer banks of Nicaragua that is not to be found on modern charts; Far Tortuga may have worn away in hurricane, leaving only submerged reef, but it seems more likely that this cay was a mere dream and legend of the turtle men." For the turtle fishers in Matthiessen's novel, *Far Tortuga*, the voyage to these legendary islands is more than mere dream: it is regression, annihilation, extinction. If man kills off all the turtles, how long will he himself survive?

Survival appears to be an impossibility—from the very beginning of the turtle-hunting voyage. The seas are too uncontrollable, too anonymous. A sense of infinity permeates most of Matthiessen's narrative—huge, empty spaces on this earth where few men have ever dared to trespass. The characters in his story, the crew of the ill-equipped exschooner, the *Lillias Eden*, are primitive men aware only of their elemental needs: food, drink, sex. Under their captain, Raib Avers, they become transformed into rapacious animals—each one out for himself, running away from something; each one trying to make a quick buck from the turtle business before the reefs become totally depleted of one of the earth's oldest living creatures. No Ishmael or Queequeg here—only another Ahab (Captain Raib, complete with white scar disappearing under his cap) and a crew of drunkards, murderers and spiritual derelicts.

With a crew like this, the voyage of the *Eden* immediately takes on an aura of foreboding. The mysteriousness of the green turtles is reiterated again and again, like a leitmotif, interpolated with tales of hardship at sea, of encounters with strange creatures, of man's inhumanity to man. A dead whale tracks the *Eden* in her course; the mates wonder why sharks avoid it. A madman passes by in a skiff, a final warning of their dark fate. The reader becomes a voyeur, watching the last men on earth fight a losing battle with nature. Raib harangues one of the mates, letting him know that on the *Eden* all life as he knew it has ceased to exist:

> You hear dat rushin out dere, Byrum? De wind and de sea comin together? Dat de sound of *hell*, boy, dat de sound of *hell*! You way out on de edge, boy, you out on de edge of de world. No mon! Ain't no unions on de turtle banks, I tellin you dat! Ain't no rights out here! Ain't notin out here but de reefs and de wind and de sea, and de mon who know de bleak ocean de best has got to be de coptin, and de men don't listen to de coptin, dey stand a very good chance of losin dere lifes!

The *Eden* is leaky. There are no life jackets, no fire extinguishers, no emergency lights; the radio-telephone works only as a receiver. After days at sea, the uncertain turtlers capture a mere seventeen turtles, though a vessel they encounter boasts 450. The crew itself begins to diminish—a death and a defection to another ship, another mate left in Nicaragua because he argued with Raib. Finally, in desperation, Raib orders his remaining men toward the dangerous Misteriosa Reefs (Far Tortuga Cay?), expecting to discover a colony of green turtles. What they encounter instead is a group of drunken refugees, abandoned on the reef. Fleeing from the marooned men, Raib insanely tries to steer his ship through the coral reefs at night. The *Eden* goes down. In the aftermath, one turtle is released from its bindings, one man survives. Far Tortuga remains unseen.

Typographically, *Far Tortuga* is a fascinating book, and it is written in a style unlike anything I can recall. On the printed page, the text often appears more like poetry than prose because of the spatial configurations Matthiessen has developed in order to create a feeling for the sea, the passing of time, the repetitions of the natural world. Words are isolated, enveloped in white space. The descriptions are terse, but highly poetic. Characters are never identified by a "he said" but rather by their rich and colorful dialect. Initially, this lack of formal character identification is somewhat perplexing, but as the reader proceeds it soon becomes an easy matter to identify each speaker.

THE CASUALTY

I carried him there
Out of the wind
Afraid to look, there was so little
I could do
Except to say
"You're lucky it wasn't in the heart"
When it was.

William Sprunt

Besides the abundant white spaces in the text, there are illustrations representing the sun and the moon (the passing of time), the sea and the waves. At the beginning of the novel, there is a ship's manifest, listing important information about the members of the crew, and a diagram of the ship itself. The end-paper map of the Caribbean includes an insert of the Misteriosa Reef off Nicaragua. I found myself referring constantly to these drawings as I read the novel. Toward the end of the story, whenever a character dies there is simply a black blob on an otherwise blank page, followed by the name of the character under it. The presence of the author has been cut almost to zero. In the long run, however, one cannot help wondering exactly how much has been achieved by these means. By the end of *Far Tortuga*, I began to feel that Matthiessen's typographical innovations had made it difficult to become involved with the characters or the events of the story. Yet there are passages in which the sense of mood and atmosphere is overwhelming, where the writing is as fine as anything Matthiessen has ever done.

I have long admired Peter Matthiessen's work. He is one of the most versatile writers of our time, bridging the world of art and the world of the natural sciences. How can one forget *The Tree Where Man Was Born* or *Blue Meridian*? His earlier novel, *At Play in the Fields of the Lord* (1965), seems to me to be a small masterpiece, unaccountably neglected. I do not have that feeling about *Far Tortuga*. □

Charles Larson teaches in the Department of Literature at The American University in Washington D.C. His new book, The Novel in the Third World, *will be published in the fall.*

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Styron & the Blacks—Another View

STEPHEN B. OATES

One of the most disturbing literary storms of our time was that whipped up by William Styron's *Confessions of Nat Turner* (Random House, 1967), a novel about that prodigious black figure who led the bloody Virginia slave rebellion of 1831. In an "Author's Note," Styron insisted that he had "rarely departed from the *known* facts about Nat Turner" and advertised his book as less a historical novel than "a meditation on history." Then he went on to depict Turner as a sexually crippled bachelor given to masturbation fantasies about white women. Since the real-life Nat Turner had a wife, black scholars and activists alike cried out in protest. Of course they said the novel violated the historical record. Of course they said it perpetuated the white racist stereotype that all black men are obsessed with white women. Of course they damned Styron for emasculating one of their heroes. Of course they fretted that Styron's grandiose claims—a meditation on history indeed!—would invite both blacks and whites to accept the novel as historically accurate.

But few whites listened. On the contrary, most white reviewers hailed Styron's portrait of Nat as a masterpiece. Eminent white historians like C. Vann Woodward testified to its historical brilliance and integrity. When the book became a runaway best-seller and won the Pulitzer Prize, several black authors had taken all they could stand: they collected their own opinions in a volume called *William Styron's Nat Turner: Ten Black Writers Respond* (Beacon Press, 1968), edited by John Henrik Clarke. "History's potency is mighty," Clarke thundered, quoting the Marxist historian Herbert Aptheker. "The oppressed need it for identity and inspiration; oppressors for justification and legitimacy." One needed only to read that to know what would follow. Although the essays by Vincent Harding and Mike Thelwell subjected Styron's novel to valid and incisive criticism, many of the other reviews were party-line diatribes which castigated Styron as an "unreconstructed Southern rebel" and enshrined Nat himself as "a virile, commanding, courageous figure," a military genius and inflexible white-hater whom today's blacks must emulate. Even Harding became polemical, crying out that Styron "has taken my Nat and gone." Styron's sexual portrait ("is it maudlin ineptitude or sheer mockery?") convinced Harding that only Negroes, "out of the bitter-sweet bowels of our blackness," could interpret their history and their agony.

Predictably, most white reviewers were as hostile to *Ten Black Writers Respond* as the blacks were to Styron's novel. White historians like Eugene Genovese and Martin Duberman argued that Styron did no violence to the general history of slavery, reproved the blacks for their "obscene" and "ruthless" attack on Styron himself, listed all their historical inaccuracies, and punched away at them for inventing their own myths and racial stereotypes. Genovese, for his part, even defended Styron's dismissal of Nat's "alleged" wife and insisted that Styron's doubt-ridden, white-influenced, sexually disturbed bachelor was "a believable Nat Turner."*

With that, black and white historians went to war over Styron in the journals. Letters to the editor and replies to the letters smoked and blazed in *The New York Review of Books*. Rival war camps sprang up on the literary battlefield—one largely white and pro-Styron, the other largely black and anti-Styron. At historical conventions and on the college lecture circuit, Styron tried desperately to defend his novel and vindicate himself, with furious young blacks yelling at him from the floor. Appalling confrontations these were, exposing the racial antagonisms that had long smoldered in the hallowed towers of the intellectual world.

And though the fighting has subsided some, the war over Styron's Turner rages on. Today one who embarks on a study of Nat Turner must face a hail of questions from the rival barricades. All right, where do you stand? Are you for Styron or the blacks? And if one refuses to take sides—as I do—then one is fair game for sharpshooters in both camps. Still, I'll take my chances—because I think the war over Styron's Turner carries profound implications about the misuses of history that merit nonpartisan discussion. And when one clears away all the polemical smoke and debris, one has little choice—if one is faithful to the truth of history—but to call down a pox on both their houses.

Let me begin with Styron. While he is no racist storyteller (his vignette of the free Negro Isham should disabuse anybody of thinking that he is), Styron was woefully misguided in his presentation of Nat Turner himself. Instead of creating a make-believe slave rebel with an imaginary name, Styron took a real-life human being, used his name and actual historical context, and invented a condition and temperament for him that in major respects contradict the historical record. As a consequence, Styron's novel is an entirely unacceptable account of Nat Turner, as I briefly stated in an article published in *American Heritage* called "Children of Darkness: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion" (October 1973). Because white historians have provided the bulk of Styron's defense, my comment seemed like traitorous sniping from within his own ranks. Therefore in a letter to *American Heritage* (February 1974), Styron protested my remarks on two grounds. First, no matter how many fascinating "facts" I had turned up about the rebellion, Turner himself and "his deeper motivations," like those of other "obscure" historical figures, remain conjectural. That is why novels are written about them that should not even strive for complete "accuracy," even if that were possible.

Second, who the hell was I to criticize William Styron? After all, he had "never heard of Professor Oates," so where did Oates get off calling his novel unacceptable? And anyway, other historians "vastly more eminent than Professor Oates" and "certainly more sophisticated" in grasping the difference between history and fiction—he cited Woodward, Genovese and Duberman—had testified to the historical soundness of his vision of Nat. So Styron felt secure in swatting off my little pot shots and assuring readers of *American Heritage* that his rendition of Nat Turner was correct.

With due respect to the pecking order in the historical profession, I must dispute Styron's argument. For one thing, those historians who defend his vision of Nat Turner may be vastly more eminent than I, but that in itself does not make them or William Styron right. While his novel contains brilliant descriptions of the world of the Old South (its sights, sounds, smells, its contradictions and racial agonies), Styron nevertheless violated the truth—fictional as well as historical—in his portrayal of Nat. The fact is that Nat Turner had a wife and two or possibly three children, so that Styron's depiction of him as a celibate bachelor given to masturbating about

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Stephen Oates teaches history at the University of Massachusetts and is the author of To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown *(Harper & Row). His book of biography and history,* The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion, *has just been published by Harper & Row.*

*Contrary to what Genovese and Styron both have said, there is irrefutable contemporary evidence that Nat's wife not only existed but kept his secret papers during the rebellion. See my own work, *The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion* (Harper & Row, 1975), *passim*.

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creamy-thighed white women is a clear distortion of the truth and an insult to the Nat Turner who really lived. That, in my judgment, is what renders Styron's treatment of Nat Turner imaginatively unacceptable.

Had Styron done his homework thoroughly, which historical novelists are honor-bound to do, he might have documented the "fascinating fact" of Nat's wife and perhaps saved himself from much of the flak that his "vision" of Nat has brought his way. He might have produced a fictional portrait close to the truth of Nat's life, instead of merely dramatizing fanciful psychological theories—*à la* Stanley Elkins—as is the case with *The Confessions*. Styron might also have discovered something about such real-life people as Nathaniel and Lavinia Francis, whom he persistently distorted in his book. Nathaniel, for his part, could not have been "a mean son-of-a-bitch" and "a nigger breaker," as Styron described him, because six free blacks voluntarily resided on his farm. And Lavinia was not "a slab-faced brute" with "a huge goiter." The historical Lavinia was young, slender and rather pretty, with high cheekbones and a wide and gentle mouth.

My point is that a historical novelist, while free to speculate on deeper motivations, does not have the license to impose on real human beings temperaments and physical traits they did not have, living conditions they did not experience.

And so we come to one of the fundamental lessons in Styron's war against the blacks: the urgent need for historical authenticity and realism in writing about controversial figures of the past, especially those involved in the combustible race issue. Because Styron's portrait of Nat is not authentic, because it is in fact a disturbing misrepresentation of that real-life black man, I protest against the novel. And I am dismayed at the way in which white historians have defended Styron's misrepresentation. After all, it seems only fair to ask how they would react if the controversy were the other way around. Suppose a black author, arguing that Thomas Jefferson's inner life remains a matter of speculation, wrote a novel which depicted him as a secret homosexual, tormented with fellatio fantasies about the virile black men who tilled his fields. Suppose then that black critics, hailing the novel as a masterwork, awarded it something like a W.E.B. Du Bois prize for black literature. Dare we imagine how white critics and eminent white historians would respond to that?

If one is concerned with authentic history, with history as a source of insight and enlightenment, then one must also grimace at some of the misguided arguments advanced by politicized blacks in the Styron-Turner controversy. Let's start with their attitudes about black history. Because Styron denigrated Nat Turner's manhood, his novel helped convince a good many black intellectuals that white people were incapable of writing honestly, with sensitivity and compassion, about the black past. So in recent years a furious war cry has reverberated through the ranks of certain black authors and critics: that only blacks can tell the real truth about Nat Turner and other black heroes, that only blacks (as Vincent Harding declared) can interpret and write legitimately about the whole black experience because only they have lived that experience and only they can understand it.

For me, that argument is as tyrannical and indefensible as the Southern white supremacists' assertion that only they can understand the South. Or the extreme feminist position that only women can write about women. If this sort of logic were carried through the human race, then only Jews could write about Jews, only Indians about Indians, police about police, rapists about rapists, and Alabama governors about Alabama governors. And Styron about Styron. Which of course is absurd. For generations our best literature has demonstrated that through the limitless capacity of imagination, through the ability of human beings to transcend themselves and empathize and suffer with other human beings, artists can create authentic characters—and compose perceptive biographies of historical figures—who may be the opposite of the author's own sex, race or creed. For example, in *Another Country* (Dial, 1962), James Baldwin wrote astutely about blacks and whites, men and women, heterosexuals and homosexuals. Moreover, just because Styron maligned the historical Nat Turner does not mean that all white men are blind and insensitive to the black experience. As evidence, I cite André Schwarz-Bart's *A Woman Named Solitude* (Atheneum, 1973), a historical novel which combines the author's own compassionate insights with an accurate and extensive knowledge of New World slavery and African history and mythology. The author is a white Jew born in France. Yet his principal characters are two black women—Bayangumay and Solitude—who lived and died in slavery in the French West Indies. Schwarz-Bart not only recounts their life stories in authentic historical context but captures their suffering and dignity with a haunting eloquence one cannot forget. *A Woman Named Solitude* stands as a powerful refutation of the argument that a white male writer cannot fathom the black soul, cannot comprehend the black experience.

And now the matter of history as propaganda. For the purposes of racial protest, many militant blacks have come to canonize Nat Turner as a white-killing black superman, making his name a rallying cry for the present-day black liberation movement, much as white radicals like Truman Nelson have done with John Brown. Why deify Nat? Because, say black activists and politicized intellectuals, only by inflating him into a glorious black god can black brothers and sisters—especially the children—come to identify themselves with him and break the chains of their oppression. Unless Nat Turner is presented as a powerful and uncompromising he-man (incapable of fear, of doubts, of love for the "honky"), somehow the kids will grow into obsequious Uncle Toms.

Yet is this not political nonsense? As much a travesty on the truth of history as the very novel the blacks despise? Generations of bored white history students testify to the fact that people don't identify with flawless saints and romanticized immortals. They identify with real-life historical figures who suffered, struggled, triumphed sometimes and failed sometimes, just like people in our time. Therefore won't black children the more readily appreciate Nat Turner if they are told that, yes, he did break his chains and rise up in insurrection and direct the murder of white Southerners because slavery had maimed and murdered Negroes? Yet he also felt affection for his first master, Old Benjamin Turner, who approved of Nat's literacy and encouraged him to read the Bible. And Nat had affection for his last master and mistress as well—Joseph and Sally Travis—who were the first to perish in his war for slave liberation. As Harold Cruse has observed, slavery locked blacks and whites together in a purgatory of love and hate. And Nat suffered in that purgatory, smoldering with resentment at his enslavement and that of his people, enjoying just enough freedom as a slave

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preacher to want complete freedom, until at last he felt himself called by God to revolt. Yet Nat dreaded to commence because of the violence that would attend rebellion. He wavered, almost gave it up, until a heavenly sign convinced him that his God—the vengeful Jehovah of the Old Testament—wanted him to rise up in spite of his misgivings. Yet in the course of the revolt he displayed a fatal irresolution about slaughtering white people himself—which was entirely human for a man of his supreme intelligence and sensitivity. After the rebellion was over and he came to trial in Jerusalem, Va., he was fiercely unrepentant and confronted his white captors with a pride and defiance that awed them. Yet before the revolt, this same Nat Turner baptized and ministered to a sick, demoralized white man because Preacher Nat felt compassion for him.

Nat Turner was a complex and paradoxical man, a victim of a violent system who in the end struck back with retributive violence. At the age of 31, he died on the gallows in Virginia, one of the final casualties in an insurrection and an ensuing white reign of terror that demonstrated with blazing clarity what Frederick Douglass said of slavery—that it brutalized everybody, black and white alike. The historical Turner, with all his strength and human frailty, his loves and hatreds, his family cares and Messianic posturings, his liberating visions and bloody doom, lived a life that affords profound insight into the tragic consequences of man's inhumanity to his fellow man. But we will never know this if Nat is removed from the reality of his own time and made a slogan and a shibboleth for modern activists—or if he is used as a mouthpiece for the fantasies and unfounded suppositions of a modern novelist. □

A World of Shiny Surfaces

STRONG OPINIONS. *By Vladimir Nabokov. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 335 pp. $8.95.*

GENE H. BELL

Strong Opinions is a collection of Nabokov's occasional pieces: interviews, letters to editors, butterfly studies and some articles, mostly attacks. The letters, also mostly cantankerous, make little sense without their targets. But then this miscellany is intended for Nabokov watchers, who tend to be up on the man's latest battles. The book only fills gaps, furnishes a personal glimpse of the clever artificer who hides behind the polished fictions, lyricized recollections and peevish prefaces.

Thus those factual tidbits, previously scattered elsewhere, now stand between two covers—the idyllic estates in old Russia; the *émigré* nomadism; the assassination of Nabokov's father by a Russian Fascist; living in hotels; butterflies; the Cornell professor; the poor public speaker; the slow composing on notecards as he stands before a lectern (even when answering interviewers); the conventional taste in art (he dislikes abstractionism); the insensitivity to music; his son the opera singer; the long drives west which later became *Lolita*; publishing spats; success; the indifference to public affairs; the sneers at thinkers and most authors; and the Manichean politics (good America versus global Kremlin conspiracy).

Like his novels, Nabokov is eminently visual ("I was born a painter"), eidetic even. He is correspondingly visual in his approach to literature. His lectures at Cornell shunned historical or intellectual content and dwelt on the physical layout of a Russian sleeping car in Tolstoy or the map of Dublin in Joyce. Indeed, a favorite Nabokov whipping boy is those critics who see "schools" or "affinities" (quotation marks always) in art. He also heaps scorn on novelists of "ideas"—Dostoevsky, Mann, Camus and any author who sees fit to depict the role of certain intangible (say "spiritual") presences in human life. In a curious attack on *Nausea* (*New York Times*, 1949, reprinted in this volume), Nabokov mainly discusses inaccuracies of translation and Sartre's errors of fact, summarily dismissing the book because it deals "on a purely mental level" with abstract philosophical issues. Nabokov recalls the naive positivist who distrusts what can't be seen.

As a matter of fact, a common Nabokov epithet is "thinker," and his verbal volleys against one particular thinker, Freud, are notorious. While it is amusing at the first try, his stock refrain about "the Viennese quack" does get tiresome by the twentieth. Nabokov, moreover, merely ridicules and asserts. He never argues; he seldom takes issue with any specific books or passages of Freud, but trains his guns on obscure psychoanalysts and Freudian lit. crit. He apparently thinks Freud is nothing more than sex-and-Oedipus, and one begins to wonder if Nabokov has read much Freud. Similarly, the imprecations against Marx are grudge-level anti-communism, and the recurrent "refutations" of Marx in the novels seem mere expressions of personal prejudice. Though Nabokov admits to knowing little about physics, among the thinkers at whom he lets fly is Einstein and what Nabokov calls his "slick formulae." Nabokov himself preaches a vague solipsism and a crude atomism in which nothing much relates to anything else.

One can't find fault with Nabokov's mind for being what it is. Still, it is disquieting to see him vent his spleen against so many writers simply because his work differs from theirs in mode and in spirit. Part of the problem is that Nabokov is not simply averse to, but actually appears unable to cope with, abstract thought. The only philosopher with whom he seems to have any familiarity is Bergson, and his own attempts at abstract discourse in *Ada* and *Bend Sinister* are high-sounding gobbledegook.

More problematical still is Nabokov's offhand treatment of most authors, whom time and again he whisks off as second-rate or worse: Conrad ("juvenile"), Lorca ("ephemeral"), Cervantes ("crude romance"), Dostoevsky ("claptrap"), plus Balzac, Faulkner and hundreds of others repeatedly written off as trash. He lobs one or two at his major contemporaries: Beckett writes "lovely novellas" but "wretched plays in the Maeterlinck tradition," while Borges is linked to Anatole France—cheap shots, these, considering how Nabokov bristles at any such comparisons whenever applied to himself (just what is the Maeterlinck tradition?, as he might have replied to an interviewer).

Although Nabokov's enemies list ranges widely, there is some method to his mudslinging—enemy number one being general ideas. He also recoils at any author whose style or structure may lack polish but through whose imperfections there radiates a raw humanity (Dostoevsky, Céline). "Human interest" is a prime Nabokov pejorative—hence his contempt for Van Gogh. Above all a stylist whose novels exclude the intellect and keep the lid over any stray passions, Nabokov disdains any art marked by intellect or stray passions.

In addition, through a kind of reverse Zhdanovism, Nabokov rules out as *ipso facto* inferior any literature with "social content"—Balzac's descriptions of the French bourgeoisie, Conrad's of imperialism, Faulkner's of the Deep South,

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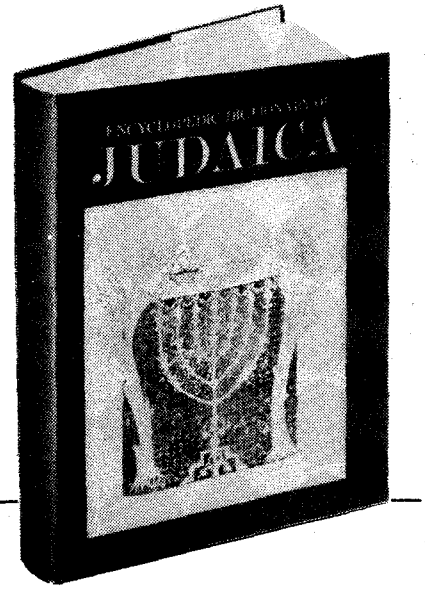

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even Picasso's "Guernica." Among the few authors spared his dustbin are Flaubert, Joyce, Proust, the high practitioners of an art-for-art's-sake with which Nabokov frankly sympathizes, while ignoring Flaubert's own didactic intentions and his intellect, or Proust's re-creation of a vast social panorama, its internal rivalries, its moral conflicts and collapse.

And yet, though Nabokov professes indifference to all doctrine and ideology, there is more social content to his ivory tower than he might care to admit. Most of his Russian novels and several of his English ones are an implicit justification of Russian *émigré* culture, while on the other hand all the Soviet characters he plops into *Glory*, *The Defense*, and *Pale Fire* are crude caricatures, the mirror images of capitalists in Socialist Realism. (Balzac satirizing French financiers is merely "social," whereas Nabokov lampooning Soviet tourists is "art.") *Bend Sinister*, Nabokov's poorest novel, is an anti-Communist tract, full of opaque literary games and hardly as readable as Koestler. It displays no deep understanding of conflict and dictatorship, no concept of how or why one group or another might seize state power, other than portraying revolution as the work of spiteful brutes who fear and hate professors. And its attacks on social "leveling" (like those in *Glory*) read like 19th-century anti-democratic rhetoric or Barry Goldwater.

Pnin and *Pale Fire* are studded with Nabokov's aesthetic or political manias: both books take pot shots at anti-McCarthy oppositionists, while the idyll of prerevolutionary Zembla closely resembles Nabokov's liberal Utopia and his image of America. Other novels are platforms for his idiosyncratic artistic "ideas." *The Gift*, a highly specialized account of sectarian squabbles in Russian and *émigré* literature, offers a polemic, via Chernyshevsky, against social art; and *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*, through the hack Goodman, broadly castigates historically minded critics, while claiming artistic and even moral superiority for the writer who stands at a lofty remove from social crises like famine, unemployment and war—Ayn Rand for the aesthetes. Even Nabokov's nondoctrinal books tilt at leftists, Freudians and social novelists. One is reminded of the wily "objectivity" of end-of-ideology sociologists. To paraphrase Borges: those who object to social doctrines in literature secretly mean doctrines different from their own.

Strong Opinions leaves a lingering bad taste. It is depressing that a major author, when venturing outside his twin fields of letters and lepidoptera, should be so wanting in intellect. Although Nabokov discounts the existence of any causes or patterns in history, his view appears in part the fruit of much ignorance. He seems to think that Mao's China is a Soviet product ("Russia's tumor"), and his allusions to the historical past, here and elsewhere, seldom extend beyond evoking the role once played in it by his aristocratic forebears. Nabokov comes off in these pages as a rigid and reactionary crank, awesome in his visual sense and vocabulary, petulant about most other authors, and singularly narrow in his range of interests—a kind of Bobby Fischer of literature.

The book will thus gain him scant sympathy, save with those campus cultists who mimic his prose and parrot his prejudices. For Nabokov is currently succeeding Eliot as an academic industry. Scholars hunt down his entomological and literary references; their snide allusions to Viennese quacks now replace Eliot's religious nostalgia.

But the fact is, without *Lolita*, Nabokov's output amounts to a minor—if formally fascinating—achievement. His Russian works, now all translated, grapple in fresh, striking ways (though there are no major breaks from traditional narrative) with the problems of transition, of coincidence, of moving characters about the chessboard, of "he said-she said." Seldom exceeding 200 pages, they are neatly chiseled, readable and amusing, with a fair share of "beautiful" descriptions, even touching at times. Urbane, always witty, these artful entertainments rarely echo any deep strains in the human heart. *Laughter in the Dark*, suspense-ridden and perverse, is something of an exception, as is perhaps *Invitation to a Beheading*.

Within its range, of course, Nabokov's Russian *oeuvre* is perfect—just as Housman, Poulenc or Fritz Kreisler excel in theirs. But that range is exceedingly limited; the novels lack the intellectual depth and precision of Beckett, the far-fetched sense of humor and outrageous inventiveness of Cortázar, or the brooding sense, in Borges (who frankly admits writing not pure art but human parables), of a universe gone quietly mad. There are also in Nabokov's Russian fictions a bit too many handsome, breezy young men for whom everything works out fine, while the victims are too often contemptible fools described as dogs, frogs and toads.

Nabokov's English output is more uneven. *Sebastian Knight* superficially resembles Borges' "Pierre Menard" (the biography of a fictitious author), but where Borges makes his points with coruscating irony and indirection, Nabokov resorts to frontal attack and sarcasm. *Bend Sinister* is a shallow book in good prose, and *Pnin* a college novel neither better nor worse than those of Amis, Malamud or Randall Jarrell, with differences chiefly of "content." *Pale Fire* is a freak masterpiece; though its poem is frequently too prosy and the narrators' obsessions often shade off into those of crotchety Nabokov, it demonstrates how the thinnest material—academic intrigues, scholarly megalomania—can still be rekindled into art by a virtuoso performer. Adjectival *Ada*, on the other hand, with its trilingual puns, casual alliterations and conceits, and ever self-allusive language, is an unreadable literary monster. The mannered, self-indulgent prose, well-suited to Kinbote and Humbert Humbert, here lacks any external basis, and so falls flat. Given Nabokov's distaste for the mock-history and pointless puns of *Finnegans Wake*, it is odd to see him succumbing to those very same vices. *Transparent Things*, slim and modest, is far more satisfying, with nicely executed shifts of voice throughout; it recalls the delicately understated love stories of his Berlin days.

Lolita is Nabokov's one truly major opus, formally perfect save for the creaky "background" material. And it is read and reread precisely because, for all of Nabokov's indifference to contemporary reality and "human interest," it crystallizes a number of current phenomena—the motel odyssey, the mindless and sassy American pubescent, the cultivated psychopath-buffoon. *Lolita* fits so well together because Nabokov's obsessions either are missing or are blended with the content. Since Humbert is crazy, the anti-Freudian asides are entirely appropriate and so unobtrusive; his sheltered French-English origins rule out any anti-Communist snortings (indeed, the only major *emigré* moment is the hilarious escapade with the czarist taxi driver); and the unliterary nature of the subject precludes any harangues about other authors.

Nabokov has had his years of glory. His virtuoso prose serves as an example, a reminder to keep our every sentence clean of formulas and clichés. That he revels in his know-nothing aestheticism is an annoyance, but he has managed to produce a couple of masterpieces nevertheless. Otherwise he is an anachronism with little to offer serious readers. Nabokov is a 19th-century liberal-aristocrat, who could nourish his world view in the closed Berlin subculture of *émigré* Russians (never learning German), and who found in the tranquil campuses of cold-war America the closest approximation to his social ideal

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—a mild liberalism free of leftists and indifferent to the Right. Intellectually he is an old-fashioned individualist convinced of the absolute autonomy of his mind, still fighting a *fin de siècle* battle against psychiatry and social science, even to the point of denying all environmental influence. His aesthetic happily coincided with the academic reign of New-Critical orthodoxy—the dogmatic separation of art from social life and thought.

All that sort of thing is now hopelessly dated, a phantasm sustained by snobbery and nostalgia. More recently, such South Americans as Neruda, García Márquez and Carpentier have demonstrated that—Zhdanov and Nabokov notwithstanding—an organic social vision and highly sophisticated artistry can indeed coexist, while up North, authors like Pynchon and Barthelme have recognized that history is a living nightmare with which art, if it is to be more than shiny surfaces and glittering wit, must come to terms. *Lolita* exists—but so, for that matter, does *One Hundred Years of Solitude.* □

Appropriating Europe for Us

HENRY JAMES LETTERS. Volume I: 1843-1875. *Edited by Leon Edel. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 493 pp. $15.*

ROBERT EMMET LONG

One of the important incidents of Henry James's later years, the period in which he lived at Lamb House in Rye and was sometimes known as "the Master," took place when James built a large bonfire on his lawn and committed to its flames his literary archives of forty years, including most of his personal papers and all of his immense correspondence. A more determined revenge upon "publishing scoundrels" had not been enacted, even in James's story "The Aspern Papers." At the same time, he wrote to his correspondents that they should destroy all of the letters he had written to them, and declared his "utter and absolute abhorrence of any attempted biography or the giving to the world by 'the family' or by any person for whom my approval has any sanctity, of any part or parts of my private correspondence." Fortunately for posterity, James's correspondents disobeyed his instructions, and in the course of time many thousands of his letters made their way into university collections, particularly the one at Harvard.

James did not prevent the publication of a biography and his letters, but he did delay their appearance by many years. Two volumes of his letters were published in 1920, edited by Percy Lubbock; but they were generally unrevealing, and a disproportionate number of them were from his later period. And only in recent times has Leon Edel performed the difficult task of reconstructing James's long career. The first volume of Edel's biography was published in 1953, the fifth and last in 1972, providing a portrait in great detail of an extraordinary life. The biography drew significantly upon James's extensive correspondence which, the biography completed, Edel has now begun to edit, making a selection from a large treasure of letters. The first of four projected volumes has been released, and it is all that one could have hoped for, and more. This volume of correspondence captures the spirit of James's youth and radiantly projects the sense of first encounters with marvelous things.

The early letters are similar in their nature, and their crystalline style, to James's travel writing and literary reviews of the same period. Their tone is cosmopolitan, sometimes touchingly modest, and yet assured and discriminating. They give the sense that James knew who he *was* from the beginning, and that he carefully planned and worked out his career in its early stages. He spent a decade traveling, reading, observing, assimilating before he entered upon his career as a novelist. During this apprenticeship, he wrote daily and continually so that by the time he published *Roderick Hudson*, he was earning $3,000 a year from American magazines, enough to support him abroad. The letters, moreover, are full of glimmerings of James's future, as in the following passage from a letter written to T.S. Perry when James was 24 years old:

> When I say that I would like to do as Ste. Beuve has done, I don't mean that I should like to imitate him, or reproduce him in English; but only that I should like to acquire something of his intelligence and patience and vigour. One feels—I feel at least, that he is a man of the past, of a dead generation; and that we young Americans are (without cant) men of the future. . . . We are Americans born . . . I look upon it as a great blessing; and I think that to be an American is a great preparation for culture. We have exquisite qualities as a race, and it seems to me that we are ahead of the European races in the fact that more than either of them we can deal freely with forms of civilization not our own, can pick and choose and assimilate and in short (aesthetically etc) claim our property wherever we find it. . . . We must of course have something of our own—something distinctive and homogeneous—and I take it that we shall find it in our moral consciousness, our unprecedented spiritual lightness and vigour. In this sense at least we shall have a national *cachet.*

Robert Emmet Long is a college teacher and critic who writes frequently on American literature.

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The reference to Sainte-Beuve also indicates the approach to writing James was already cultivating. Like Sainte-Beuve's essays, James's letters place a primary emphasis on sensibility, and have a detached poise. He tends to avoid political or purely intellectual discussion; and he does not—even in his earliest letters—reveal himself in an intimate or personal way, or give the sense that he has any sexual needs. In this respect, James was limited but strong; his "spiritual lightness and vigour" could touch the soul of things, as one sees so often in the sympathetic objectivity of his descriptions of people and places. His discovery of Oxford and the English countryside makes a glowing account that looks forward to "A Passionate Pilgrim," but it is also balanced by other observations about English life that are less favorable. James experiences his greatest love affair with Italy, and his descriptions of Venice, Florence and Rome are among the finest things in the volume. Papal Rome, with its medieval pageantry, is a "sensuous education," and he delights in it; but his pleasure is tempered by criticism, as one notes in the following, from a letter to his sister Alice:

> I made no attempt to enter the church; but I saw tolerably well the arrival of the cardinals and ambassadors etc and finally of the Grand Lama in person. The whole spectacle was very handsome, but it was precisely like a leaf out of the Middle-Ages. . . . When you have seen that flaccid old woman waving his ridiculous fingers over the prostrate multitude and have duly felt the picturesqueness of the scene—and *then turn away sickened by its absolute obscenity*—you may climb the steps of the Capitol and contemplate the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius . . . so large and monumental and yet so full of a sweet human dignity—stretching out a long thin arm in the act of mild persuasive command—that affects you like an audible personal voice out of that stony Roman past. As you revert to that poor sexless old Pope enthroned upon his cushions—and then glance at those imperial legs swinging in their immortal bronze, you cry out that here at least was a *man!*

James's objectivity is apparent throughout, in his appreciation of other people, and in the sense he gives of knowing precisely what their limitations are. He guides Emerson through the Louvre, and is charmed by all that is rare in this old friend of his father's, but he is always conscious too, of Emerson's "innocence." At one point, he relates to his father a conversation of the Emersons aboard ship. " 'The thing itself is small,' she said to Ellen, 'but I do hate injustice.' ELLEN. 'I don't know that I have ever known injustice. Father, have we ever known injustice?' " Some of James's remarks about Howells' "small but genuine" talent are devastating without seeming spiteful; one feels that they are just, and even disinterested and impersonal.

Much of the interest of the letters is that they show the formation, during a precociously early period, of James's mind; but they have an interest, also, as social history. They provide glimpses of Newport society and the American leisure class to which the James family belonged, as did James's friends John La Farge and Thomas Sergeant Perry, young Europeanized New Englanders of whom there are many variations of type in the novels of James and Howells. La Farge had spent his early years in Paris, where Sainte-Beuve, the Goncourts, Baudelaire and Flaubert were familiars of the La Farge household. Perry was interested in painting as well as science, could read a number of languages (including Greek and Sanskrit), and was an omnivorous reader who introduced Turgenev's writing to James's circle in Cambridge. William and Henry James, Howells, Perry and young Oliver Wendell Holmes formed a close circle in Cambridge, and however different their later careers were to be, they all showed an unusually strong discipline and power of will, and their correspondence illustrates the thinking of a certain social class. In a letter to Charles Eliot Norton, on the occasion of his wife's death, James describes his own sense of life as unremitting effort and will: "I have in my own fashion learned the lesson that life is effort, unremittingly repeated, and . . . I feel somehow as if real pity were for those who had been beguiled into the perilous delusion that it isn't. . . . The voluntary life seems to me the only intelligent one, and if there be such a thing as heaven, I take it to mean the state in which *involuntary* life is secure."

Many of James's best letters were written from abroad where, in the 1870s, he became familiar with the American art colony in Rome and Florence. Despite his romance with Italy, however, he seems always determined to make every moment count. At times he even uses the vocabulary of American capitalism, as when he says that he is bent upon making his stay in Rome "pay." Elsewhere he remarks: "I had far rather let Italy slumber in my mind untouched as a perpetual capital, whereof for my literary needs I shall draw simply the income." At such times, when James seems like an American appropriator staking out the Old World for his literary material, one is reminded of Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad*, of the same period, which reflects a consciousness of emerging American power in the world. The latter writes with the confident assurance of the American "new man," undaunted by Europe's superstitions and outmoded traditions. James is infinitely more subtle than Mark Twain, but in his "possession" of Europe there is the energy of aggression also. Arriving in Europe in 1875, to take up permanent residence, James declares: "I breathe it in. . . . I appropriate it." These closing words of the volume perhaps describe the special quality of the book, which captures the spirit of a particular time: the relief which was felt after the end of the Civil War, the sense of an expansive new beginning, the guarded optimism that went with it. The attitudes of this era were in time to be tinged with irony, its buoyancy to become more somber, as James, Mark Twain and Henry Adams were to take their place among "the dispossessed generation." □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

The Yale Repertory Theatre's production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* opens with two armored figures in combat in front of a backdrop that resembles a Paolo Uccello battle painting. When they lift their helmets we recognize them as Theseus and Hippolyta in hostilely amiable conflict. Moving to the fairyland of Oberon and Titania, we are similarly made to envisage their contest over the possession of the "changeling" as a disguised battle of the sexes. The production appears to aim at an interpretation which parallels that of Jan Kott in his *Shakespeare, Our Contemporary*. To be consistent with his thesis of Shakespeare's somber view of life, Kott attempts to prove that the *Dream* is symbolic of the playwright's pessimism in regard to sexual love. The playfulness of the scenes in which Titania shows herself infatuated with Bottom as ass, Kott maintains, is much more sinister than we had previously supposed. The course of love is not only bumpy but shifts from folly to beastliness.

Oberon, as played half-naked by Christopher Lloyd in New Haven, is a rather saturnine creature whose attachment to his queen has a large measure of sadistically gross appetite. And she (Titania) is the very image of woman as both intoxicating bait and bird of prey. This impression is heightened by Carmen de Lavallade's sensationally beautiful legs and frankly stimulating person. The sexual emphasis in the

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staging is inescapable but by no means unpleasant.

As a whole, the production (the best I've seen at Yale) is, for all its departures from the traditional norms, still essentially jocund. Much of it has a certain block-party tone; the city kids improvise in friendly rough-and-tumble fashion. Much of this is quite funny; none but "purists" can object and most audiences at New Haven will approve.

Music by Henry Purcell, well played and sung, gives the evening the poetic lift which the sometimes crude reading of the lines dispels. The setting is well designed by Tony Straiges to enhance the exuberance of movement which the director Alvin Epstein has enthusiastically planned. Christopher Lloyd's physical strength and Carmen de Lavallade's terpsichorean prowess (both actors in exciting costumes by Zack Brown) stand as the high point of the production's genial robustiousness—to which Linda Atkinson as a peppy Puck (bad boy-girl or girl-boy), Charles Levin as Bottom, along with his sportively ungainly mates, contribute happily. I also found Franchelle Stewart Dorn's Hippolyta fetching.

The Circle Repertory Company continues its noteworthy record of presenting interesting pieces by (mostly) new playwrights. The latest of these is Corinne Jacker's *Harry Outside*. I know nothing of Ms. Jacker's previous writing but she is clearly an intelligent, informed person of a serious frame of mind. If I found the play finally unsatisfactory despite certain well-written passages, I could not fail to follow it with close attention and respect.

The play is quite obviously based on intimate acquaintance with its subject matter, especially as exemplified by its central character, the architect Harry Harrison. The man, once highly esteemed as an *artist* in his profession, had at one point of his career gone so mad that he had to be hospitalized. Apart from his telling us that he suffers from manic depression and that he once imagined himself a "mutant," the nature of his illness is unclear. When we meet him, after his release from psychiatric supervision, he has retired with his second wife to a country place where he has resolved to live in the open, never again to enter his own or any other enclosed dwelling. Nor will he cohabit with his wife who, despite his mental condition and attendant cruelty, continues to love him.

During this time of total withdrawal from ordinary modes of conduct, Harry works on a project—a large egglike edifice of perfect proportion and no practical utility; a "pure" work of art—which when complete, he destroys. It is done and therefore of no further value to him. In short, he fights off any attempt—personal, social, intellectual—to intrude on his selfhood. He is embarked on an exultant or superman mission to preserve his irrefragable and impenetrable "I."

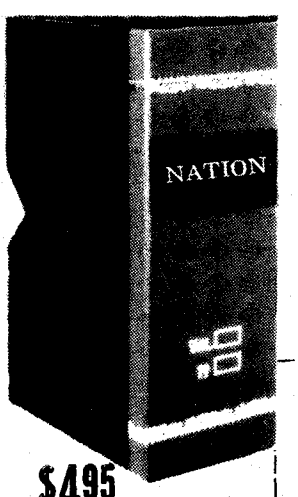
Though the author strives to remain objective about her Harry, I suspect she regards him with something like admiration, perhaps even with awe. What, besides his intense arrogance, do we learn about him? His savage *machismo* is thoroughly amoral. He has gone to bed with virtually every woman within grasping distance. Nor is he disturbed when his wife—frustrated by his present abstinence from her—copulates in the fields with a youth much given to playing the recorder. Harry had also had an affair with this boy's mother and it may even be possible that he is Harry's illegitimate son. Besides his tootling, the young man's only other activity is indiscriminate, almost dispassionate, fornication.

Everyone in the play is "loose." A somewhat nymphomaniac neighbor works at pottery (she also is in love with Harry); a younger girl in the vicinity embroiders and spins while trying to learn about things—to no particular avail. Harry's daughter by his first marriage, who to begin with is assumed to be the fiancée of the pipe-playing boy, soon reveals that she is involved in a lesbian relationship. And the spinning young girl strikes one as also leaning toward lesbianism.

One may protest that no such collection of misfits or oddballs ever could gather together at the same time on common ground. But everything exists; everything imaginable happens. In any case, the aforesaid objection is barely valid here because the characters, while presented as people, are only symbols—of bodies adrift, a constellation around a glowing "star" who personifies an ideal of thoroughly uncontingent being. But I do not believe in any aspect of such an ideal: it is not desirable, real or attainable. What is more, I dislike Harry for being even more boring than base.

As in most productions of the Circle Repertory Theatre directed by Marshall Mason, the acting in *Harry Outside* is effortlessly convincing and without false notes. The entire cast is good. Lois Smith, attractive enough to make Harry's rejection of his wife seem really crazy, possesses a sweetly generous womanliness supported by enough acting talent to lend credibility even to her occasional outbursts of violence. Kevin McCarthy's technical fluency and intelligence keeps our attention alive despite the fact that his words contain more wind than substance. Only a formidable actor of profound inner resources could possibly make Harry seem the towering phenomenon those around him take him to be. Tanya Berezin's dryness as the sexually eager but disillusioned potter brings the character close to earthy sense.

Rodgers & Hart is a symposium of some of the 600 songs they wrote for various musicals in which they collaborated from 1925 to the early 1940s. They are sung, mimed and danced by twelve youngish players who, under



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Burt Shevelove's direction and with Donald Saddler's choreography, perform their several tasks in an unsightly setting with a synthetically energetic brightness more in keeping with 1975 than with the glamour of the 1920s.

My incapacity to transcribe the exact notes of Rodgers' compositions prevents me from being sufficiently specific about the suave softness, the modest elegance and the gentlemanly gaiety which constitute the hallmark of the best of his songs: *Manhattan, Mountain Greenery, Bewitched, Bothered and Bewildered, It's Got To Be Love* and many others.

The added fillip to these tunes—the shaft which impels them into one's consciousness and sensibilities—is the twinkle of skepticism within a sigh of regret which is the special grace of Lorenz Hart's delightful talent. Rodgers was the more romantic or sentimental partner, Hart the more sophisticated, and, for all the trickiness and froth of his versification, humorously lyrical.

I should add that my reaction to *Rodgers & Hart* is personally nostalgic because I was the stage manager of *Garrick Gaieties* of 1925, the team's first success and to this day a virtually unsurpassed revue, in which many of my later colleagues—Lee Strasberg, Sandford Meisner, among others—were engaged. So, not to put too fine a point to it, I love Rodgers and Hart. □

RECORDS

DAVID HAMILTON

MOZART: Complete Dances and Marches. Vienna Mozart Ensemble; Willi Boskovsky, cond. London STS 15275/9 and STS 15280/4. $17.45 each (five discs each).

Over a period of some twenty-two years, Mozart composed more than 200 pieces in these short forms for social occasions, and a more impressive demonstration of resourcefulness within strict limitations—eight-bar phrases, the simplest regular meters, the most straightforward harmonies, the standard classical small orchestra—cannot be imagined. The producers of these recordings have taken care that the sequence of selections on the discs is arranged with attention to variety rather than to mere chronology, but the attentive listener, unable to dance along or at least to watch dancers, will soon discover that, taken in large doses, even the work of transcendent genius seems not to transcend the aforementioned limitations. A further impediment to pleasure is the relentless cheeriness of the performances, compounded by occasional roughness of execution. Do note, however, that the second volume includes two extended sequences of ballet music: the forgettable (and probably not all authentic) *Les Petits Riens*, and the superb music for *Idomeneo*, not included in any of the current complete recordings of the opera; this last is rather well played. Extensive annotations are provided.

HAYDN: The Complete Symphonies—Appendices. Philharmonia Hungarica; Antal Dorati, cond. London STS 15316/7. $6.98 (two discs).

These are the footnotes, as it were, to a monumental project, including two early symphonies that didn't make it into the canonical numbered sequence of 104, and assorted alternative versions of movements for Symphonies 22, 53, 63 and 103 (this last, an early form of the splendid finale with an excursion that Haydn later deleted, is particularly fine). The main body of this series, comprising forty-six discs, has been one of the most rewarding productions in recent years; Dorati's performances are sometimes short on subtlety and H.C. Robbins Landon's extensive program notes sounder on matters circumstantial and textual than those structural and substantial, but the orchestra plays well, the tempos are generally sound, and the tonal registration seems both accurate and pleasing to the ear. All in all, one of the record industry's really admirable accomplishments—generously marketed at "budget" prices.

KODALY: Orchestral Works. Philharmonia Hungarica; Antal Dorati, cond. London CSA 2313. $20.94 (three discs).

Whereas Bartók in his most fruitful works drew universal implications from the tonal particularities of Hungarian music, his colleague Kodály retained a more limited nationalist focus. More directly accessible—and generally made with impeccable professionalism—these works have thus not acquired such a large international audience. The spine of the present set's album box announces "Complete Orchestral Works," but the first adjective is correctly disclaimed elsewhere; all the notable pieces are here, however, including various offshoots from stage works. The spirited, idiomatic playing and the spacious natural recording do not salvage the late (1961) and rambling Symphony—nothing could, probably—but this is otherwise a compendium that can be put on the shelf with assurance that its component parts will not be significantly superseded. Regrettably, the program notes are awkwardly translated from the Hungarian, the discussion of technical matters occasionally rendered unintelligible even to the initiated (with some further, doubtless unintentional assistance from the typesetter).

BACH: Complete Cantatas, Volume 10 (Cantatas Nos. 35-38). Soloists, Vienna Choir Boys, Chorus Viennensis, Concentus Musicus; Nikolaus Harnoncourt, director. Telefunken/Das Alte Werk SKW 10/1-2. $13.96 (two discs).

A more ambitious project than any of the foregoing (some hundred records will be required for its completion), and more problematic—although certainly not because of the music, which is a constant occasion for delight and wonder. Nor am I much troubled by the occasional difficulties attendant upon the use of period instruments; indeed, this group's first recordings of Bach (notably the *St. John Passion* and the *Brandenburg Concertos*) were something of a revelation with respect to possibilities of sonority and balance in this music. Since then, some sort of mass-production mentality appears to have crept in, a standardized set of responses to rhythmic and articulative situations substituting for fresh discovery and invention to match each work's specific musical and expressive means. The results can be genuinely grim, as in Cantata No. 35, its sole vocal part entrusted to a reedy countertenor with limited tonal appeal and firmness; this is not likely to win friends or influence listeners favorably. Still, to each volume that arrives I attend with interest, for Bach does not disappoint—but when listening for pleasure I turn to the recent recordings of Cantatas Nos. 7, 44 and 101 by the Cantata Singers, a Cambridge (Mass.) group led by John Harbison, in the superbly produced series of Advent cassettes (D 1016; Cantatas Nos. 44 and 101 are also available on disc, Advent 1015). Here there is a specifically responsive sensitivity and vitality, worth nearly all the output of the various European sewing-machine cantata series now under way, which too often conceal rather than reveal the music within the notes.

A laudatory word for Telefunken's accompanying materials is surely in order, however: cogent (albeit stiffly translated) commentaries by the excellent scholar Alfred Dürr, full texts and translations, and complete scores of the cantatas—in the present Volume 10, all recent engraving rather than the old Bach-Gesellschaft editions (with the vocal parts in "old" clefs) that predominated earlier in the series. □

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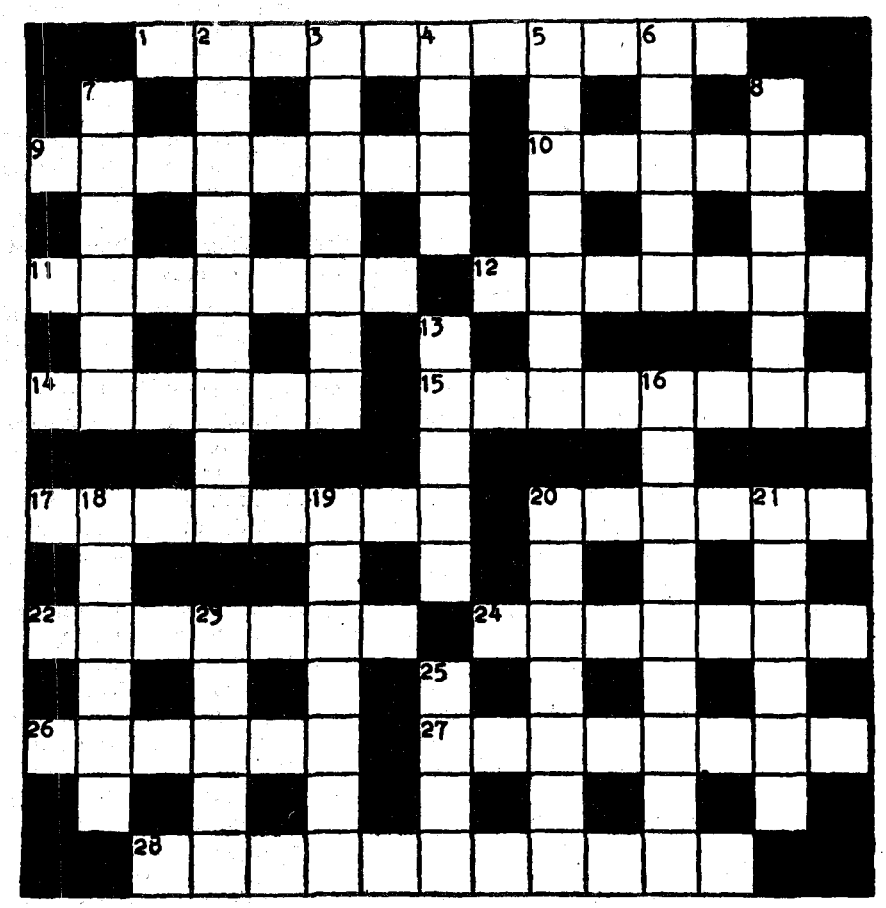
Crossword Puzzle No. 1587

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Speaking of men, this is slander! (11)
9 One who is paid to be a bad guy shows how to postpone things. (8)
10 Gives great attention to the dressing. (6)
11 Flown by negative-minded Bostonians? (7)
12 Only a woman could be engaged in being this. (7)
14 See 25 down.
15 An added estate to the accepted powers, employed by some court favorites. (3,5)
17 They probably have fancy interests. (8)
20 and 8 down Otherwise, down-at-heel. (2,4,6)
22 Mom and Pop's weapons, used automatically. . . . . (7)
24 . . . . . and Mom is at this to make it, but it's only a theory. (7)
26 One of those things Kipling never saw might be a fancy automobile! (6)
27 Certainly not 1 across, possibly disparaged in an equal society. (4,4)
28 Ham might, but evidently the issue of labor is just a sham. (6,1,4)

DOWN

2 A baseball player's weapon commonly is only a plant. (6,3)
3 Glut. (7)
4 See 23 down
5 Sort of deposit on deck. (7)
6 One of the things the expert knows. (5)
7 Where Henry V invited his friends once more might imply a severance of friendly relations. (6)
8 See 20 across
13 Was it coined just to stow and cache? (5)
16 Quarters might be halved by them. (9)
18 No restraints with a before-noon examination? (6)
19 Arum is a form indigenous to Japan. (7)
20 Not grain for export—though it might hamper cultivation. (7)
21 Might they hold steady the process of oil production? (6)
23 and 4 Young fowl before dessert? They could be applied to any body. (9)
25 and 14 across Look intently at a famous old athlete, and you're bound to find an early settler. (10)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1586

ACROSS: 1 From time to time; 9, 12, 19 and 23 Nothing ventured, nothing gained; 10 Blister; 11 Nausea; 14 Screech; 15 Pasta; 17 Level; 21 Palatine; 25 Gunboat; 26 Awesome; 27 Beat one's breast. DOWN: 1 and 21 down Financial page; 2 Outruns; 3 Trihedral; 4 Mugs; 5 Table d'hote; 6 Twist; 7 Matures; 8 Prod; 13 Bennington; 15 Privateer; 16 Amendment; 18 Valance; 20 Gondola; 22 Trout; 24 Bass.

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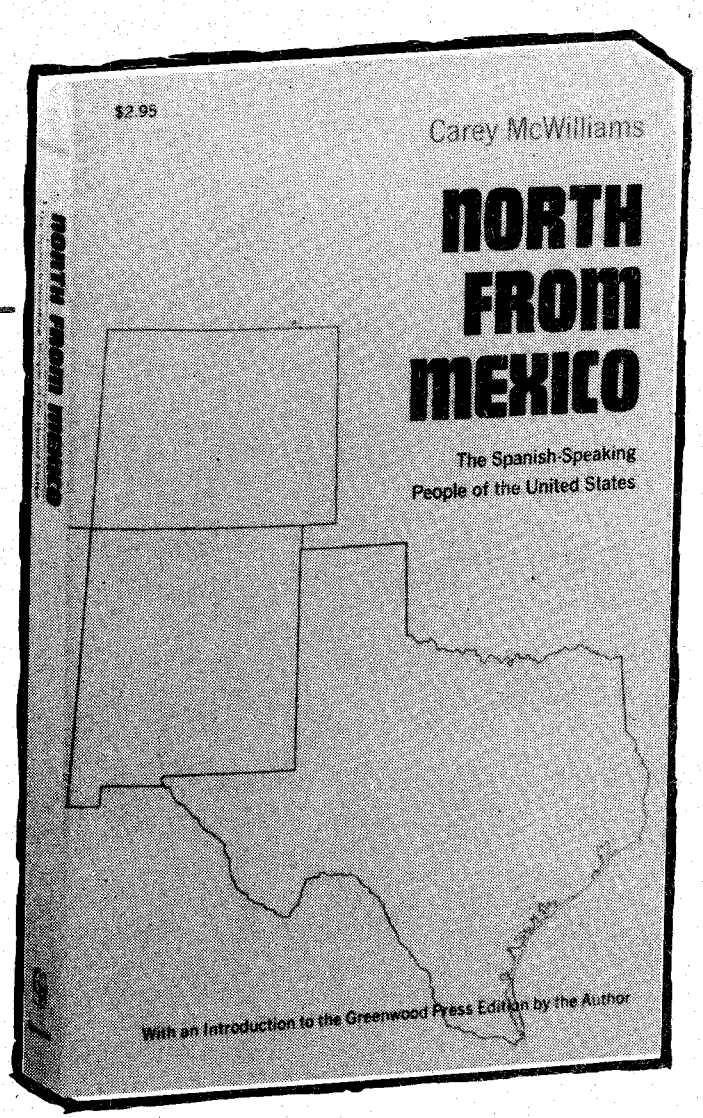
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